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EARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

I.

THE FIRST MAGAZINE WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.

THE first literary magazine published west of the Alleghany mountains appeared in Lexington, Kentucky. The title was *The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine: a Publication Devoted to Literature and Science*. It ran from August, 1819, to July, 1821, inclusive, making four volumes of 384 pages each. The editor and publisher was Mr. William Gibbs Hunt. A perfect copy of this rare periodical lies before me as I write.

The *Western Review* was a carefully edited, unpretending, dignified publication, though in some respects crude and provincial. Its scientific, historical and archaeological features have a permanent

value. The geology, topography and natural history of the Ohio valley received much attention in its pages. A series of articles, entitled "*Indian Antiquities*," contributed to it by John D. Clifford, elicited much cotemporary comment, and scientific men still regard the series with interest. Mr. Clifford was a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and also of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts. He was a citizen of Lexington, where he died May 8, 1820.

Caleb Atwater, the author of a '*History of Ohio*,' wrote some letters to *The Western Review* from his home in Circleville, Ohio. Professor C. S. Rafinesque of Transylvania university contributed nu-

merous articles on the botany, zoölogy and meteorology of the west. He furnished several on the Ohio river and its fishes.

But perhaps the most important, and certainly the most readable part of the contents of the magazine, is the series of authentic narratives headed "Heroic and Sanguinary Conflicts with the Indians." In the opening number of his periodical the editor solicits, "from persons in every part of the western country who may be able to furnish them, authentic and well attested narratives of this kind, mentioning names and dates, and detailing all the valuable facts with the utmost minuteness and precision." In a foot-note he says further: "Gentlemen who are not in the habit of writing for the public, and who are not even accustomed to composition of any sort, are still solicited to communicate, in the plainest manner, the facts within their knowledge." The solicitation appears to have called forth a good many responses, for almost every number of the magazine contains one or more "thrilling narratives," chiefly relating to the early settlement of Kentucky.

Appearing, as it did, so soon after the close of the War of 1812-15, The Western Review contained much concerning the political and military characters and questions of the time. The first article in the first number of the work is a lengthy review of Reed and Eaton's 'Life of Jackson;' and the same number contains a biographical sketch of Major Zachary Taylor, then a rising hero, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Consonant with the spirit of the day, the periodical published occasional "forensic" efforts, orations, eulogies and so

forth, for the encouragement of eloquence. An elaborate essay, by C. D., on "American Eloquence," startles the reader by the conclusion that the "time is at hand when American eloquence shall glow in the fervid fire of Demosthenes and roll in the copious magnificence of Tully." We ought to be thankful that a prophecy so terrible was not fulfilled.

The purely literary department of The Western Review was very prominent, and was evidently conducted with pride by Mr. Hunt and the "few friends of learning" who wrote the leading articles. The title, "Review," was no misnomer, for the magazine devoted more than half its space to formal reviews of current books in general literature. Within the brief twenty-four months of its existence, it spread before its critical readers full synopses, with extracts and comments, of Scott's 'Tales of a Landlord,' 'Ivanhoe,' 'The Monastery,' 'The Abbot' and 'Kenilworth,' these five all coming out in two years. Among other new books reviewed were Southey's 'Life of Wolsey' and Irving's 'Sketch Book,' of which last the critic says: "This work is not so well known in the western country as from its literary merit and interesting character it ought to be." Alluding to the story of Rip Van Winkle, the reviewer betrays an amusing incapacity for humor by gravely objecting to the possibility of a man's sleeping for twenty years! "We are only assured that it is an absolute fact," grumbles the literal commentator, "and are, of course, unable to conjecture how the story can be reconciled with reason or common sense."

No fewer than three of Byron's poet-

ical productions are reviewed in this pioneer western magazine. These are "Mazeppa," the first part of "Don Juan" and the "Vision of Dante." The moral character of "Don Juan" is reprehended, as a matter of course. I wonder how the "Hesperian bards" relished the remark that Byron "seems to have no fixed principles upon any subject, but is entirely a poet."

The Western Review has but little to say on American poetry, for the plain reason that but little American poetry existed in 1819. There is indeed a long article on "The Poetical Works of John Trumbull, LL. D.," closing with some strictures upon the "school of poetry, in which Trumbull, Dwight, Barlow, Humphreys and some others who were educated at Yale college formed themselves." The article concedes that these writers produced works that are "highly respectable," and caps the climax of faint literary praise by assuring us that "they were men of high minds, pure morals and ardent patriotism."

Halleck's "Fanny," published anonymously in 1820, was reviewed and commended cautiously by the Lexington censors. The author was advised to employ his muse upon subjects more worthy of her.

Metrical composition was a copious element in Gibbs Hunt's periodical. Every number displayed from four to six pages headed "Poetry," for the most part original. There were enigmas, impromptus, inscriptions, elegies, epigrams, songs, odes and "effusions," specifically so headed. There were album verses and lines mildly amatory "To Julia," "To Malvina,"

"To Sylvia," "To Julia" again, "To a Little Bird," "To a Rose-Bud," and, finally, "To Julia's Urn," which, being interpreted, happily means Julia's tombstone. The odes were most numerous. These and the elegies were written now in English and again in Latin. Several semi-erotic poems were written in French, and a few even in Italian—French and Italian of Lexington. For this versing in foreign tongue Transylvania university was doubtless responsible. The first commencement of that institution occurred July 12, 1820, with seven graduates steeped in classic literature.

The last number of the last volume of The Western Review, July, 1821, contains a genuine poem, entitled the "Boat Horn," by Orlando. This was the first draft of Wm. Orlando Butler's melodious lyric, the "Boatman's Horn," afterwards made familiar to the public in Coggeshall's "Poetry of the West." Coggeshall says it was first published in 1835, but he is mistaken. It came out, as I have said, in 1821, when the author was twenty-eight years old.

On the completion of the fourth and final volume of the "Review," the editor wrote: "If we have in any degree succeeded in creating or fostering a literary taste; if we have, to any extent, drawn out the resources of the scholars of the western country; if we have been instrumental in preserving for the future historian and for the admiration of posterity any of those interesting narratives, which cotemporaries only could furnish, of the difficulties and dangers and almost incredible deeds of heroism that distinguished, and ought to im-

mortalize, the early settlers in the west; if, in fine, we have successfully repelled a single unjust aspersion cast upon the American character, our exertions have not been in vain, and we have no cause to regret the existence, feeble and short-lived as it may have been, of *The Western Review*."

THE CINCINNATI LITERARY GAZETTE.

This is the age of Magazines,
Even sceptics must confess it;
Where is the town of much renown
That has not one to bless it?

—Thomas Pierce in the *Literary Gazette*, 1824.

Three months after the first number of Hunt's Monthly came out, Dr. Joseph Buchanan issued in Cincinnati the initial number of a weekly paper called the *Literary Cadet*, the pioneer literary leaf of the Queen City. Before six months elapsed the *Cadet* was merged in the *Western Spy*, a newspaper dating from 1799. In 1821-2 lived and died the *Olio*, a semi-monthly literary venture, published and edited by John H. Wood and Samuel S. Brooks. Among the contributors to the *Olio* were Robert T. Lytle, Solomon S. Smith, Dennis M'Henry, John H. James, Lemuel Reynolds and Lewis Noble.

It was in the days of the *Olio* that John P. Foote started a bookstore at No. 14 Lower Market street. The first booksellers in Cincinnati were Phillips & Spear, whose store, started in 1819, was eventually sold to Wilstach & Keys, corner of Main and Fourth streets. In 1829 William Hill Woodward, from Philadelphia, opened a bookstore on the corner of Fifth and Main streets, where he dealt out both literature and hot coffee. Foote and

Wells began the Cincinnati Type foundry, a branch of E. White's New York establishment. Foote's bookstore was an appendage to the type foundry. It became a meeting place for men of literary inclinations. Mr. W. T. Coggeshall recorded in the *Genius of the West* that "one evening in the latter part of the year 1823 John P. Foote, Peyton S. Symmes, Benjamin Drake, John H. James, D. Dashiell and one or two others assembled in the back room of the bookstore, when the propriety of a literary gazette was taken up for discussion. There was no lack of confident hopefulness in the opinions of the counselors, and the publication was resolved upon."

The Literary Gazette was issued weekly from the press of A. N. Deming, corner of Main and Columbia streets, opposite to the Western museum. The first number appeared January 1, 1824. Each number bore the motto: "Not to display learning, but to excite a taste for it." Whether any very eager taste for learning was excited in its readers, there is no means of telling, but it is certain the editor failed in the essential of securing a sufficient list of paying subscribers. Mr. Foote laments in his Christmas valedictory that his readers must part "with the year and the Gazette together and thus furnish one more instance of the futility of all hopes founded on the anticipated encouragement of those intellectual exertions which contribute to soften and adorn life among a people whose highest ambition would seem to be exhausted in acquiring the means of support." This long sentence, when chewed, will be found tintured with the tempered bit-

terness of mild irony. After Mr. Foote abandoned it, the Gazette was revived, with Looker & Reynolds as printers, and was carried on for two-thirds of a second year, when a second death finally extinguished it.

Among the contributors to the Gazette were John H. James, Charles Neave, Ethan A. Brown (afterwards governor of Ohio), David G. Burnet (president of Texas), Mrs. Julia Dumont, Mrs. Holley, wife of Dr. Holley, president of Transylvania university, Miss W. Schenk of Franklin, J. G. Drake and Dr. John D. Godman.

The prevailing character of the Literary Gazette, readers of to-day would call heavy and dry. "It is our aim in this paper to be useful rather than original," wrote the editor. Yet the severely useful features of the paper were relieved by much original matter designed to be sprightly and entertaining without lapsing into frivolity. The fun is invariably serious and the serious writing never funny.

The Gazette flourished in the palmy days of Transylvania university and the Cincinnati college, and the professors in these and other academical institutions contributed much useful information to its columns. Professor C. S. Rafinesque of Transylvania, who had written many articles of a scientific kind for Hunt's Review, wrote still more for the Gazette, furnishing a series of learned papers on the "Ancient History of North America," and another series on "Systematic Botany." Professor John Locke, the respected head of Locke's Female academy, contributed several unreadably dry discussions on botany and on mechanics. Professor T. J. Mat-

thews, father of Justice Stanley Matthews, projected a mathematical department, and there was printed from his pen a lecture on Symmes' Theory. In those days the usual place for lectures in Cincinnati was the Western museum. Mons. J. Dorfeuille, the proprietor, was himself a cyclopedia of popular knowledge, and he gave didactic addresses on languages, books, birds and I know not what besides. In the Gazette for November 7, 1824, it is advertised that "This evening Mr. Dorfeuille will lecture (for the second time and by particular request) on 'The Pleasures and Uses Arising from the Study of Natural History and the Fine Arts,' and conclude with an address to the ladies."

The Gazette gave a summary of general news and brief notices of books and writers, native and foreign. It sympathized with the "cause of the Greeks" and with all struggles for popular liberty. The coming of La Fayette was heralded in its pages with pæans of praise.

Benjamin Drake contributed to the Gazette a series of sketches under the general caption, "From the Portfolio of a Young Backwoodsman." Several of these sketches were reprinted in the author's first volume, 'Tales of the Queen City.' The western verse-makers sent reams of rhyme to Mr. Foote, and he printed quires of it. The most prolific and also the cleverest of our local poets was Thomas Peirce, author of the "Muse of Hesperia" and "Horace in Cincinnati." Peirce was wonderfully versatile. In addition to his rollicking original pieces in many meters, he made creditable versions from the French and

Spanish. Some of his liveliest lyrics in the Gazette are subscribed "Charlie Ramble."

The poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, contributed to Mr. Foote's paper at least three poems—"Memory," "To Good Humor" and "The Tempest," which are all to be found in the author's published works. Halleck, when a very young man, used to visit at the house of Foote's father at Nut-plains farm, near Guilford, Connecticut, and here it was that his literary tendencies were encouraged.

Mr. John P. Foote himself is described as bearing a striking personal resemblance to John Quincy Adams. He was an active man of affairs, with a taste for literature. Long after the demise of the Gazette, he produced two valuable books, 'The Schools of Cincinnati and its Vicinity' and 'A Memoir of Samuel Edmund Foote.'

FLINT'S WESTERN MONTHLY REVIEW.

It is incorrectly stated in 'Allibone's Dictionary,' 'Duyckinck's American Literature' and similar works, that Timothy Flint began the publication of The Western Magazine and Review in 1834. The fact is that the first number of this pioneer literary journal was issued in May, 1827. The 'Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley' appeared in the autumn of the same year in two large volumes from the press of E. & H. Flint. This useful work rapidly passed through numerous large editions. Many passages from 'Flint's Recollections' are incorporated in it. The peculiar criticism was made on this book that it was too interesting to be useful!—the reader

searching for geographical or historical facts in its pages was carried away from his object by its absorbing narrative or brilliant description.

The Western Review was published only three years, or until June, 1830. The editor was the principal contributor, though James Hall, E. D. Mansfield, Micah F. Flint and some others sent occasional articles. The magazine had the motto, "*Benedicere haud Maledicere.*" The subjoined extracts from the "Editor's Address," in the first number, are not without piquancy and local color:

"We are a scribbling and forth-putting people. Little as they have dreamed of the fact in the Atlantic country, we have our thousand orators and poets. We have not a solitary journal expressly constituted to be the echo of public literary opinion. The teeming mind wastes its sweetness on the desert air. . . . Now we are of the number who are so simple as to believe that amidst the freshness of our unspoiled nature, beneath the shade of the huge sycamores of the Miami, or cooling the forehead in the breeze of the beautiful Ohio, and under the canopy of our Italian sky, other circumstances being equal, a man might write as well as in the dark dens of a city. . . . Our literary creed is included in one word, *simplicity*. Our school is the contemplation of nature. . . . Reviewers who imagine that nothing good can be written beyond a circle of three and a half miles in diameter, of which circle they are the centre, may have, as must certainly be conceded to Boston reviewers, a good deal of mechanical cleverness in manufacturing sentences and rounding periods."

The Review contained only original articles, not a few of which were long and dreary, on the "Philosophy of Education," "Political Economy," "An American University," "The Trinitarian Controversy," "Temperance," and so on. One cannot help thinking, as he turns the leaves of this sixty years old exponent of western letters, that the good editor felt it incumbent on him to show more than usual gravity, dignity and learning. It seems as though he might have said to himself, as he trimmed his goose-quill: "We will demonstrate to those carping eastern critics that our Review is a Review indeed, solid and solemn enough for the most exacting scholar. We will prove to the world that the west is by no means frivolous, and that we ourselves, though for relaxation we may dash off a novel now and then, are capable of much heavier things, and we do not forget we are a collegian and a clergyman."

To natives of the Ohio valley, the Western Review contains much that is of local and historical interest. Flint was loyal to his adopted region, and gave prominence to western topics. Every book or periodical published this side of the Alleghanies received attention in his monthly pages. All public addresses, orations, sermons and debates were duly announced and generously commented on. The great discussion between Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, which Flint attended, was made the subject of several editorial articles.

The Review was a magazine of fifty-six octavo pages; price three dollars a year. It was issued from the press of W. M.

Farnsworth, Cincinnati, Ohio. Three volumes only were published.

HALL'S WESTERN MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

The first number of the Illinois Magazine was issued in October, 1830, and the periodical, a monthly, was continued two years. This was the pioneer magazine of Illinois, and the editor, James Hall, wrote the most of it, doing a work in Shawneetown similar to that Gibbs Hunt did at Lexington, and Timothy Flint at Cincinnati with their Reviews. The contents were largely historical, relating to the early settlement of the west. In a series of articles headed "Indian Relations," written in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and filled with facts and persuasive arguments, Judge Hall arraigned the government and the people for injustice to the red race, anticipating the plea so strongly made in these latter days by Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson in 'Ramona.' The magazine gave much prominence to the subject of education, and kept pace with the progress of literature. Under the caption "March of Mind," the editor stated that within the first three months of the year 1831 eighty-five thousand volumes, mainly school books, had been issued from the press of Cincinnati.

Several original stories appeared in the Illinois Magazine and plenty of original verse. Salmon P. Chase, James H. Perkins and Otway Curry were contributors. Mrs. Enna Peyer Dinneis, a once quite popular writer in the west, gained her reputation by poems published in the Illinois Magazine, under the signature "Moina." Hugh Peters, a young lawyer of

great literary promise and much admired by his cotemporaries, wrote his best pieces for Hall's publication. His poem, "Connecticut," enjoyed a school-reader immortality.

Late in the year 1832 Judge Hall removed to Cincinnati, where he soon after began the publication of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, a continuation of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*. The first number was issued in January, 1833. Its aims were like those of its predecessor, though the scope was wider and the contributors were numerous. Introducing his periodical to the public, the editor wrote, "Although devoted chiefly to elegant literature, it has always been our wish and endeavor to render it useful, by making it the medium for disseminating valuable information and pure moral principles." Matters historical and statistical received much attention. The editor furnished "Notes on Illinois;" Rev. J. M. Peck supplied pioneer reminiscences; John H. James of Urbana, Ohio, contributed many chapters of his valuable 'History of Ohio,' and E. D. Mansfield wrote various articles on the material economies of the west. Scientific and literary topics were discussed somewhat ponderously, and a number of heavy essays, original and selected, appeared on "Phrenology," "British Statesmen," "American Literature." The editor, in a "message" to his readers in February, 1835, says: "To show that we have not been wanting in exertion to give variety to our pages and to cause the whole west, as far as practicable, to be represented in our pages, we will state the fact that the articles contained in the last volume were

written by thirty-seven different individuals who are known to us, besides several who are anonymous. Of these, four reside in Kentucky, two in Indiana, four in Illinois, one in Missouri, one in Tennessee, two in Alabama, one in Michigan, one in Mississippi, one in Pennsylvania, one in New York, one in Massachusetts and the remainder in Ohio. Of these, six are ladies; and it is due to them to say that some of the most vigorous and popular articles which have adorned our periodical have been the production of highly gifted females." Prominent among the thirty-seven contributors were Rev. James H. Perkins, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Otway Curry, W. D. Gallagher and Joseph Reese Fry. Of the "gifted females," at least three made names for themselves. Miss Hannah F. Gould of Newburyport, Massachusetts, whose first volume, which appeared in 1832, was warmly praised by Judge Hall, contributed to the *Western Monthly Magazine* many of her most popular poems, including "The Winter King," "The Bed upon the Beach" and "The Pioneers." It may be said that Hall brought this writer out.

Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, who, with her husband, carried on a private school in Cincinnati, wrote many stories and poems for the magazine. Her name was very familiar to readers of fiction. According to Allibone, ninety-three thousand volumes of her novels were sold within three years. She was a daughter of General John Whiting of the United States army, and was born at Lancaster, Massachusetts. Before she was thirteen she composed a novel and a tragedy in five acts. She was

married to Professor N. M. Hentz and lived at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, before coming to Cincinnati. She removed from Ohio with her husband to Alabama, living first near Florence, and then at Tuscaloosa. Among her books are: 'Aunt Patsy's Scrap Bag,' 'The Mob Cap,' 'Aunt Mercy,' 'The Blind Girl,' 'The Peddler,' 'Lowell's Folly' and 'Ernest Linwood.' She wrote a tragedy, 'De Lara, or the Moorish Bride,' for which a gold medal and a prize of five hundred dollars was awarded her by a Philadelphia theatrical manager. She also produced a tragedy called "Constance of Werdenberg," and another, "Lamora, or the Western Wild," which was written in Cincinnati and represented there on the stage, and afterwards printed in a newspaper. The scene of the play was laid on the banks of the Ohio, and the principal character, Lamora, was a sentimental squaw most wretchedly in love.

The third famous lady contributor to Hall's Magazine was Harriet Beecher. She was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1812, and at the age of fifteen she became the assistant of her sister Catharine in a girls' school at Hartford. She removed to Cincinnati with her father's family, and not long afterwards, at the age of twenty-four, she was married to Professor Calvin Stowe, at Lane seminary. Mrs. Stowe's literary career really began in Cincinnati. E. D. Mansfield mentions in his 'Memories' that he heard her read her first public composition at Miss Pierce's school, Litchfield, and that a few years afterwards he published her first printed story in the Cincinnati *Chronicle*. In April, 1834, she

contributed to the Western Monthly Magazine a "New England Sketch," for which she received a prize of fifty dollars. She wrote the delightful study, "Aunt Mary" for the same periodical. Her first volume, 'The May Flower,' published in 1849, was dedicated to the "Semicolon Club," a Queen City literary society of which she was a member.

Judge Hall supplied the magazine with many stories, poems, critical sketches and reviews. His 'Life of General Harrison' was printed as a serial. Much of the material of his several volumes first appeared in the periodical. A sharp and aggressive critic, he wrote humorous and sarcastic reviews of various contemporary writings and writers. He compared the works of Wilson and Audubon to the disparagement of the latter. He very wittily ridiculed Flin's 'Lectures on Natural History' and Caleb Atwater's antiquarian discussions. Mann Butler's 'History of Kentucky' was handled so severely by Hall as to call out a rejoinder in the form of a pamphlet.

The most heated controversy in which he engaged was precipitated in 1835, when, like a lone knight championing an unpopular cause, he boldly struck the sounding shield of the doughty crusader, Dr. Lyman Beecher. Beecher had made Lane seminary a militant post of offensive warfare against Catholicism and slavery. His little book, 'A Plea for the West,' was an argument against foreign migration, especially the migration of ignorant foreigners to the Mississippi valley. The publication of it excited much feeling, and was thought to have unjustly inflamed public opinion against the Church of Rome.

Hall took up the gauntlet in behalf of the Catholics, believing them to be misrepresented and abused. He reviewed Beecher's discourse at considerable length and with caustic severity, calling it a 'Plea for Lane Seminary and Against the Catholics.' In May, 1835, a long article appeared in the magazine, devoted to the "Catholic Question" *in extenso*. Other writers engaged in the controversy, especially Eli Taylor, the editor of the *Journal*—an anti-Catholic and anti-slavery newspaper—and the former publisher of Hall's Magazine. Many patrons withdrew their names from Hall's subscription list. Some accused the editor of disloyalty to his own sect; some forsook him because he had condemned the "heresy of abolition," he favoring gradual emancipation instead of the Garrisonian method.

Financial disputes with Eli Taylor caused a change to be made in the publication of the magazine, which, in January, 1835, was transferred to Flash, Ryder & Co. In June, having made engagements to enter other business, Judge Hall withdrew from the editorship of the magazine, which devolved on James Reese Fry. At the close of the year Hall sold out to James B. Marshall, who merged it in his Literary Journal and Review, at Louisville, in February, 1837. The joint subscription lists numbered only a thousand names. To these a new periodical, called the Monthly Magazine and Review, edited by William D. Gallagher, was sent for five months only, and the languishing publication perished June, 1837.

W. H. VENABLE.

[To be continued.]

THE LOG BOOK.

III.

THE CLEVELAND & PITTSBURGH RAILROAD.

THIS day, March 6, 1838, the delegates from Ohio and Pennsylvania meet at Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of establishing a railroad from Cleveland to Pittsburgh, through Warren, and from Pittsburgh to be extended through Harrisburgh to Philadelphia. This meeting is of the highest importance to Cleveland. Should this road be built, and it is believed it will be, Cleveland will

be, without doubt, one of the largest commercial cities on the western borders.

Samuel Starkweather, C. M. Giddings, John Barr, William B. Loid and Frederick Whittlesey were the representatives from the city of Cleveland.

CLEVELAND—A PROPHECY.

APRIL 16, 1839.

Navigation may now be said to be fairly open all through the lakes. The ice left the harbor of Cleveland March 20,

and at Buffalo April 11, at which latter time steamboats entered and cleared from both these ports.

A lively scene was presented "under the hill." On the docks the sound of the calking-mallet and the "Heave-o-ho!" of the jolly tars might be heard in their preparation for voyages to come; along the piers the public works are being prosecuted with vigor under General H. H. Dodge, superintendent of public works, and his active general manager, Captain Levi Johnson; new warehouses are being built by Oliver H. Perry and Jesse Smith; business has a progressive appearance everywhere, warranting the prophecy that Cleveland is one day destined to be a great and prosperous city. Many have resolved to make this city their home for life.

DR. E. A. THELLER—HIS REMARKABLE
ESCAPE FROM THE FORTRESS OF QUE-
BEC.

Early in the rebellion Dr. Theller earnestly and honestly espoused the Patriot cause in Canada. He was a man of unusual ability, and became famous for his activity, sympathy and suffering in that misguided cause.

In the fall of 1837 he was taken prisoner near Malden, Upper Canada, sent to Toronto, tried by a British court-martial and condemned to be hanged. He was a bold and fearless man, and on hearing his sentence told the court that "You dare not hang me." Sure enough his execution was suspended until his case could be presented before her majesty, Victoria, queen of England.

Meanwhile he was taken to Quebec

with several other prisoners and confined in chains in that fortress without the privilege of speaking to a living soul.

While so confined some good friend contrived to furnish him with a steel saw and other instruments, with which he succeeded in disengaging his chains and sawing off the bars of his window.

On a dark night he and a young man named Dodge, from Ohio—a recent prisoner in the same cell with him—made their escape from their cell to the outer wall; but they were discovered as soon as they appeared there. An alarm was given and the only alternative left them was to stand and be shot down or taken back to their cell, or make a leap of about thirty feet from the wall! They were just the men to brave the latter alternative.

Dr. Theller leaped first and broke his ankle; Dodge followed without material injury. They soon hobbled into the heart of the city, where they found a friend who hid them in an unused cellar under a stable floor. There they remained during six days under the watchful care of their devoted friend. A reward of six thousand dollars was offered for their heads. This heavy reward tempted thousands to be on the lookout for them, but their staunch friend was not among them. The gates of the city were closed and no man was allowed to pass unsearched, and such was the vigilance of the authorities that even coffins of the dead were opened as funeral processions were passing through the gate!

Finally, by stratagem, their escape was effected as follows: They were dressed up by their friend as French "habitants" and pretended to be dirty ashmen. An

old horse and cart were provided for each and they started for the country. When they came to the gate they whipped up their old horses, talked to them in French and acted the "habitant" so exactly that the guards at the gate were completely deceived and let them pass.

They soon each procured a British officer's dress, took a lot of the hand-bills offering the big reward for their heads and started off in search of Theller and Dodge.

The plan succeeded, and they soon crossed the line into the—

"Land of the free and the home of the brave."

And, like Columbus, in his great joy on landing, they fell down and kissed the earth.

It was said that they were the first that ever escaped from that fortress, and are, probably, the last.

COLONIZATION OF SLAVES IN LIBERIA.

On the tenth of March, 1839, Rev. Mr. Pinney, recently governor of the colony of blacks in Liberia, Africa, visited Cleveland, Ohio, announcing his object was to aid the people in forming a colonization society for the purpose of sending the Africans, both slaves and free of America, to the colony at Liberia, and to deliver a course of lectures before such a society and all interested in it.

Such a society was speedily organized with the following officers: Josiah Barber, president, with twenty-five vice-presidents selected from among the first men in the city; F. Randall, secretary and treasurer, and Josiah Weston corresponding secretary.

His lectures were largely attended and

deeply interesting. In his first he spoke of the climate, situation, productions, health and the possibilities of colonizing the Negroes at Liberia.

The subject was ably and eloquently handled, carrying conviction to the minds of his interested listeners. He had resided in that country about three years, found it beautiful, abounding in profuse vegetation, valuable gums, dye-woods, oranges, almonds, coffee, rice, besides many valuable minerals and large quantities of ivory. It is quite healthy, especially to the blacks.

In his second lecture he took into consideration the objections of the Abolitionists to the colonization system.

He argued the willingness on the part of most of the southern slave-holders to manumit and colonize their slaves, and the impracticability and pernicious effects of manumitting them, as urged by the Abolitionists, without separating them from the whites or colonizing them.

His third lecture was delivered at the Baptist church before an immense audience. He portrayed the influence and effect which a Christian colony would have on the heathen of Africa in Christianizing and civilizing them; that the Negroes were originally adapted to a tropical climate. This was evident from the fact that the northern Saxons are white, the French dark, the Spanish darker, the Moors quite dark, and the Africans "as black as your hat;" that the Negro and the orange are as natural to Africa as the white man and the apple are to the United States.

It is believed that the colonization of the Negroes at Liberia will be productive

of great benefit, not only to them but to the people of the United States. Inasmuch as the United States planted the colony, they will naturally foster and protect it; open up a more or less exclusive trade, which will ultimately become a source of wealth to both peoples.

It is not altogether visionary to say that such a colony may become rich and ex-

tensive, spreading its civilizing influences over vast portions of Africa, developing the boundless resources hitherto unexplored, and will become an element of attraction to the colored people of America, where they can find freedom, political equality and personal elevation.

D. W. CROSS.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

IV.

FIRST RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES.

SOMETHING of the spirit in which the capitalist, the inventor and the traveler were prepared to welcome the railroad on this side of the sea has been already shown, and it will now be in order to trace the gradual steps by which humble and timorous beginnings grew to mighty proportions and wonderful success. Standing as we do amid the daily miracles of steam, and failing to appreciate the wonders performed by the harnessed Hercules because they are done day by day with such ease and certainty in our sight, it is difficult to realize that it is less than sixty years since the locomotive was pronounced a success, and only fifty since the first was in operation west of the Alleghany mountains.

It must be borne in mind that the pioneer railroads of America were projected and commenced after the same manner as those of England in respect

to motive power, the horse and other forms of propulsion that preceded steam being looked to rather than the locomotive; and it was only after the successful experiments in England had made a demonstration of what before had been doubt and speculation, that the iron horse was employed upon this side of the sea.

The first railroad completed in the United States was the famous and oft-referred to "Quincy" road of Massachusetts, projected and built, we are told, largely for the patriotic purpose of conveying the granite blocks that were to go into the Bunker Hill monument, out of the quarries. Its length was only three miles, and it was completed in the summer of 1827; and as it had a heavy down grade from the quarries to the wharf on Neponset river, a single horse was capable of conveying immense loads. In 1827,

shortly after the little line had been put in operation, a committee of three gentlemen were appointed by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, for the purpose of investigating the Quincy and the Mauch Chunk lines, in order that their experiences might be made serviceable to the more ambitious road further to the south. From their report* the following items of interest concerning the Quincy have been gleaned. "The Quincy railroad," say these gentlemen—Philip E. Thomas, Alexander Brown and Thomas Ellicott—"including all expenses except the amount paid for land, cost \$11,250 per mile. It was constructed exclusively for the purpose of conveying stone from a quarry to navigable water. It is three miles long and consists of a single way with two tracks, five feet apart in the clear. The rails are of pine timber six inches wide and twelve inches deep. These rails, except where the road passes over a swamp upon wooden piles, are laid upon stone sleepers eight feet long and about twelve inches square, placed eight feet apart; the sleepers rest upon a stone foundation three feet deep, which effectually secures them from the operation of the frost. On the top of the wooden rails there is nailed oak scantling two inches thick and four inches wide, on which is fastened a bar of rolled iron five-sixteenths of an inch thick, and from two and a half to two and three-quarters of an inch wide. . . . Two horses draw down the road forty tons, including the weight of the wagons, at the rate of

four and one-half miles an hour, and take up the empty wagons, weighing about six tons. . . . There are several deep ravines crossed by this road, which are passed on wooden frames at a much less expense than it would have cost to fill them with earth." The committee add the encouraging statement that the road answered the fullest expectations of the proprietors, and had reduced the expense of transporting the granite blocks to about one-sixth of its former cost.†

This new application of mechanical skill and advance toward a settlement of the transportation question was hailed as one more of the wonders of the wonderful age. In the *Boston Traveler*, published in June of this opening year, we find ample confirmation of this fact: "This first work of the kind in the Union," it declares, "is now in full tide of successful operation, and is daily visited by many persons, both from the city and abroad. The road from Boston leading through Dorchester and Milton to Quincy passes directly across the railroad; and so great has been the number stopping to survey the enterprise, who sought for refreshments, that a citizen living near the point of intersection has been induced to convert his little dwelling into a house of entertainment. Four car-

†"In 1871 the old Granite railway ceased to exist, being purchased by the old Colony railroad, and the original track was replaced by a new one."—*'Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway,'* p. 35. The author adds the information that the fullest descriptions of the Quincy railroad are given in Nathan Hall's *'Remarks on the Practicability of a Railroad from Boston to the Connecticut River.'* Boston, 1827.

* *'Niles' Register,'* No. 32, June 23, 1827, p. 282.

riages in a train, loaded with the weight of fifty tons, are drawn down by two horses, and with much more ease than they return empty. Immense quantities of stone are now conveyed to the landing on Neponset river, and must soon be increased, as several new carriages are nearly completed, and will be put on the road in a few days. It has been supposed by many that the Bunker Hill Monument association only was supplied from the quarries by this new means of conveyance; but the blocks conveyed to Bunker Hill, though in abundant supplies, form but a small part of the weight transported on the railroad. Much of the stone, we are informed, is used in Boston and transported to other and distant places at a handsome profit to the company concerned. Several accidents have happened, such as the loss of horses and injury of machinery, all of which may hereafter be prevented, as the persons engaged acquire experience in constructing and managing the carriages."

In the same year and at about the same time there was completed in the state of Pennsylvania the Mauch-Chunk railroad, above referred to, which was nine miles in length, and was constructed to convey coal from the Summit mines in Carbon county to a place of landing on the Lehigh river. The report of the Baltimore & Ohio committee, quoted already in the above, furnishes some of the earliest and most authentic data as to this Pennsylvanian pioneer, and random facts are here culled therefrom. The elevation of the mine above the river at the point of

delivery was 936 feet, there being at the bank of the river an abrupt termination of the mountain, upon which was constructed an inclined plane 700 yards long, with a declivity of 225 feet. The whole of the nine miles of road, including the inclined plane, was constructed in two months and three days from the time of its commencement, at a cost, including the plane, of between twenty-five hundred and three thousand dollars per mile. "The road is principally laid," to quote from the report, "upon the track heretofore used by the Mauch-Chunk company for the transportation of coal, on wagons of the common construction. The sleepers, which are of wood, are laid four feet apart upon a stone foundation; the rails, which are also of wood, are then placed upon these sleepers, and are fastened to them by wooden keys; they are afterwards plated on the inner edges with rolled iron bars from two-eighths to three-eighths of an inch thick, and from one and one-fourth to one and three-fourths inches wide, and the space between them is filled up with earth or gravel so high as to cover the sleepers and to form a horse-path, which completes the whole labor." The report also explains that there are "many considerable curvatures in the road along the side of the mountain to suit the localities of the ground, and these sinuosities are effected with the greatest facility by simply elevating the rail on the outer curve a little higher than the rail on the inner curve, which gives a ready direction to the wagons in their passage, without any other result than

lessening their velocity, which is retarded at these points by the increased lateral friction of the wheels."

The manner of operating this line, by a happy admixture of the force of gravity with horse or mule-power, is thus described: The loaded wagons each carry one and one-half tons of coal, and descend in brigades of six, eight or ten, connected together by iron chains, each brigade being attended by two men. These wagons descend from the summit level to the top of the inclined plane at the river, a distance of eight miles, in thirty minutes, exclusive of a few minutes consumed in greasing the wheels on the route. On arriving at the inclined plane, the loaded wagons are let down, one at a time, by a rope, worked upon a horizontal shaft, which is regulated by a powerful brake, and each loaded wagon, as it descends, draws up an empty one. In this manner they pass a loaded wagon down and an empty wagon up the inclined plane in forty-five seconds, which is at the rate of thirty-two miles an hour. The empty wagons are returned to the coal mine by horses, each horse drawing from three to four of them up in three hours.

A visitor to this primitive line in the year of its opening has left us his impressions and observations in a letter under date of "Easton, Pennsylvania, May 24th:" "Yesterday, after breakfast," said he, "we started on the railroad at Mauch-Chunk, in a neat little car attached to the rear of a brigade of empty wagons, and were

drawn up to the coal mines, a distance of nine miles, in two hours; three empty wagons are drawn up with great ease by one horse. After having examined the coal mines there, we started back in one car joined to another, with a party of fourteen persons, and descended the plane, the whole distance in forty-five minutes. A part of the time our car traveled more than at the rate of twenty miles an hour, and we came one entire mile in three minutes and fifteen seconds, which is at the rate of nineteen miles an hour. The reason of our traveling at such different speed on different parts of the route is because the road is not everywhere of the same declivity; in some parts it is so nearly level that the car does not go more than at the rate of four or five miles an hour, and as it travels without horses, by its own gravity, its impetus is, of course, determined by the declivity of the plane. The loaded wagons being heavier than we, traveled faster, and traveled the nine miles in thirty minutes... Nothing is more simple and easy than the turns-out upon the road and the manner of crossing other roads. A locomotive engine, I find, can travel on crooked roads, and will travel as well as on a straight line, except that the friction is greater and it will go slower." "I had no idea before I saw it," the writer confesses in a moment of generous enthusiasm, "that a railway was a thing of such easy construction. It is a fact that there is not more mechanical skill required to make one upon the plan of this than is necessary to construct a common post and fence

rail. I mean after the line is regulated and the route graded; and the cost will be far less than we had expected."

The next American railroad to which we come in passing onward from the Quincy and the Mauch-Chunk is the Delaware & Hudson Canal railroad, extending from the terminus of the canal at Honesdale to the mines of the company at Carbondale. This line, sixteen and a half miles in length, was completed in 1829. It also was a gravity line and overcame an elevation of eight hundred and fifty-eight feet.

A "RAILROAD UNIVERSITY."

The suggestion and beginning of the Baltimore & Ohio road has been already referred to as an illustrative incident; and the enterprise comes now for more extended treatment in its proper place in the line of evolution and development. It was a great enterprise, grandly planned and ably carried forward to a successful conclusion.

The project had been carried through the various gradations of discussion and examination from the many sides which so great an enterprise presented, and finally the first actual steps toward an accomplishment were taken. A meeting was held on February 12, 1827, at the residence of George Brown, esq., in Baltimore, at which William Patterson was chosen chairman and David Winchester secretary. The whole subject was calmly discussed, and various documents proving, or attempting to prove, the superiority of railroads over canals and turnpikes were presented;

and the result was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the subject and make a report at a future meeting.

The gentlemen constituting that committee were as follows: Philip E. Thomas, Benjamin C. Howard, George Brown, Talbot Jones, Joseph W. Patterson, Evan Thomas and J. V. L. McMahon.

On the nineteenth of the same month a second meeting was held, when a report embracing some thirty-four closely printed pages was submitted by Mr. Thomas, chairman of the committee. It was an able and convincing document, taken up largely with arguments as to the need of Baltimore of better connection with the great and growing west if she would hold her own in a commercial way, and with pleas for the superiority of the railroad, that would be commonplace if repeated to-day, but were novel at that time. The arguments were so well endorsed by the gathering that a series of resolutions was promptly adopted, which declared: "That immediate application be made to the legislature of Maryland for an act incorporating a joint stock company, to be styled the Baltimore & Ohio Railway company, and clothing such company with all the powers necessary to the construction of a railroad, with two or more sets of rails, from the city of Baltimore to the Ohio river. That the capital stock of said company shall be five millions of dollars, but that the company be incorporated, and provision shall be made by the said act for its organization, upon the subscription of one million of dollars to said

stock, and that the said company shall have power to increase the capital stock thereof, so far as may be necessary to effect the said objects. That it is expedient and proper in said act to permit subscriptions of stock to the same to be made by the United States, by states, corporations or individuals, and to provide that as soon as the said act shall have been passed by the legislature of Maryland, subscription books shall be opened, subscriptions received, the company organized and the said road constructed, so far as it may lie within the limits of the state of Maryland; and that the assent of the legislatures of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the said act shall be obtained as speedily as possible, but shall be made necessary only so far as in constructing the road it shall be found necessary to pass through their said respective states."

A large committee of influential citizens was appointed to proceed to the legislature with an application for a charter, and so well was their work done that on April 24, 1827, the company was organized and subscription books opened. Philip E. Thomas was elected president and George Brown treasurer. The state of Maryland became a subscriber to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, which, with that taken by the city of Baltimore and by individuals, rendered the capital stock of the company four millions of dollars.*

*The *Baltimore American*, in April, had the pleasure of making the following announcement: The subscription books of the company were closed

The progress of this work, great indeed as it was by the side of the enterprises of like character that had preceded it on this side of the sea, was watched with the greatest interest in all sections of the country. Special words of encouragement are heard coming from the west, which is thus to be brought so much nearer a market and the seaboard. The *Ohio Gazette* of August publishes an extended correspondence between a committee of citizens of Chillicothe and vicinity and the directors of the Baltimore & Ohio company, in relation to an extension of the line to the Ohio and beyond, and prefaces it by the declaration that, "viewing as we do the projection of this splendid scheme of internal improvement as being of the highest consequence to the people of the west as well as to the public-spirited and enterprising citizens of the city of Baltimore, we shall hail its extension west of the Ohio river as con-

on Saturday, the thirty-first ult., on which day alone were taken 13,380 shares, making, with those previously taken, 41,788 shares, inclusive of the five thousand allotted to and taken by the corporation of Baltimore. The amount of money, therefore, subscribed by this city alone is \$4,178,000, divided amongst twenty-two thousand names. It will be remembered that only fifteen thousand shares are allotted to individuals, so that each name will be entitled but to seven-tenths of a share, or seven shares for every ten names, which will be further reduced by the subscriptions in Frederick and Hagerstown, which are not yet ascertained, but are supposed to amount to two thousand shares. It is believed that of this subscription, which outruns so largely the fund contemplated to be raised, but a comparatively small part has been made with a view to speculation. There is, therefore, every reason to think that the stock is principally in the hands of persons who intend and are able to hold it.

stituting one of the most important and highly interesting epochs in the history of our state." "The fact would seem almost incredible, and yet it is nevertheless true, that a single city, and that city but very little older than the independence of our country, should, from the enterprise and resources of her own citizens, have projected a public work of the character and magnitude of the one under consideration, a work which is destined, at no very remote period, to effect one of the most astonishing revolutions in the whole commercial relations of this vast country which has ever occurred in it, and which will change the whole trade of the great valley of the Ohio and a large proportion of that of the mighty Mississippi itself, into this new channel of intercommunication—a work which, we will venture to say, for its cost, its splendor and its great public usefulness, would confer immortal and imperishable renown, as a National monument, upon a prince reigning over the oldest and most powerful empire in Christendom." The address of the Chillicothe committee was couched in much the same strain; while the directors in response declare that they are gratified to see the zeal displayed by their neighbors of Ohio, and add that, "when the work shall have been completed to the Ohio river, as originally contemplated, the company indulge in the gratifying hope that the superior advantages of this mode of intercommunication between distant inland countries will be so fully established as to authorize the exten-

sion of the route far beyond its present proposed termination, and there can be no doubt, should this anticipation be realized, that the citizens of Baltimore will most readily coöperate with their western friends in continuing the road to the utmost point to which its usefulness can be carried."

The first movement of a practical nature by the directors of the company was the securing of such information as was needed as to route, obstacles, etc., before ground should be broken. No delay was lost, and the aid of the engineers of the United States government was asked for and most freely furnished. In October, 1827, the first annual report of the directors was presented, in which they declared that they had been "actively engaged in collecting the necessary information, in order that they might secure a judicious location of the road and be enabled to decide upon the most efficient and least expensive moving power to be employed upon it." "The government of the United States," they add, "justly appreciating the importance of this enterprise, have extended to it a most liberal patronage. Several able and efficient members of the topographical corps have been detached to the service of the company. These officers have examined various routes from the city of Baltimore to the Valley of the Potomac, and along that ravine as far as Cumberland. They are now engaged in a general *reconnoissance* of the country between the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and are expected to re-

turn in a few weeks, prepared to lay before the board the result of their labors."

A detailed report was submitted on April 5, 1828, and the route formally located.

The work upon the road was commenced in the summer of 1828, and upon July 4 "the corner-stone" was laid in the midst of an inaugural celebration the like of which the city of Baltimore had never witnessed, and which was to be compared only with the enthusiasm shown by New York in the celebration of the opening of her great canal. "Dignity and character were imparted to the enterprise," says one account of that event,* "from the fact that the venerable Charles Carroll, in the ninetieth year of his age, and at that period the only survivor of the fifty-six immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence, laid the first stone which was to mark the event. The celebration was distinguished by an immense procession, comprising the various military, civil and benevolent associations of the city, with thousands and thousands of spectators and visitors from abroad."

We turn, however, to the columns of the *Baltimore American* of July 7, 1828, for an adequate description of that great event: "The celebration of the Fourth of July and the ceremonies attending the commencement of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad brought to town a great concourse of strangers a day or two before the celebration. On

the afternoon and evening immediately preceding, all the roads to town were thronged with passengers, while in the city itself, the lively and incessant crowds in Baltimore street; the movements of various cars, banners and other decorations of the trades to their several points of destination; the erection of scaffolds and the removal of window-sashes gave so many notes of preparation for the ensuing fête. Fortunately, the morning of the Fourth rose not only bright but cool, to the great comfort of the immense throng of spectators that, from an early hour, filled every window in Baltimore street and the pavement below. Fifty thousand spectators must, at least, have been present." A grand procession of trades and associations made the usual parade, and at ten o'clock reached the spot on which the foundation stone was to be placed, in a field "two miles and a quarter from town, south of the Frederick turnpike road." After various speeches and ceremonies a deputation from the stone-cutters came forward, and the car containing the foundation stone was driven to the spot. "While the stone was preparing"—to continue the quotation—"Mr. Carroll, accompanied by the grand marshal of the day and Mr. John B. Morris, and bearing in his hand the spade just presented, descended from the pavilion and advanced to the spot selected for the reception of the foundation stone, in order to strike the spade into the ground. He walked with a firm step and used the instrument with a steady hand, verifying the prediction of our

* "Rambles In the Path of the Steam-Horse," by Ele Bowen, Philadelphia, 1855, p. 35.

correspondent in the song published on the morning of the Fourth :

The hand that held the pen
Never falters, but again
Is employed with the spade to assist his fellow-men.

"The stone was then dexterously removed from the wagon in which it had been conveyed to the ground, and placed in its bed." Appropriate ceremonies by the Masonic order then followed, and were concluded by pouring wine and oil and scattering corn upon it, with a correspondent invocation and response, followed by the grand Masonic honors. In the cavity of the stone there had been placed a glass cylinder, hermetically sealed, which, among other things, contained a scroll bearing so full and compact a history of the first steps and organization of the company, that it is here reproduced as a matter of historical interest :

"This stone is deposited in commemoration of the commencement of the *Baltimore & Ohio railroad*, a work of deep and vital interest to the American people. Its accomplishment will confer the most important benefits upon this Nation, by facilitating its commerce, diffusing and extending its social intercourse, and perpetuating the happy union of these confederated states. . .

An act of incorporation by the state of Maryland was granted February 28, 1827, and was confirmed by the state of Virginia, March 8, 1827. Stock was subscribed to provide funds for its execution, April 1, 1827. The first board of directors was elected April 23, 1827. The company was organized twenty-fourth April, 1827. An examination of

the country was commenced under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen H. Long and Captain William G. McNeill, United States topographical engineers, and William Howard, United States civil engineer, assisted by Lieutenants Barney, Trimble and Dillahunty of the United States artillery and Mr. Harrison, July 2, 1827. The actual surveys to determine the route were begun by the same officers, with the additional assistance of Lieutenants Cook, Gwynn, Hazzard, Fessenden and Thompson and Mr. Guion, November 29, 1827. The charter of the company was confirmed by the state of Pennsylvania, February 22, 1828. The state of Maryland became a stockholder in the company by subscribing for half a million dollars of its stock, March 6, 1828, and the construction of the road was commenced July 4, 1828, under the management of the following named board of directors :

Philip Evan Thomas, president,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton,
William Patterson,
Robert Oliver,
Alexander Brown,
Isaac McKim,
George Brown, treasurer,
William Lorman,
George Hoffman,
John B. Morris,
Talbot Jones,
William Stewart,
Solomon Etting,
Patrick Macauley.

"The engineers and assistant engineers in the service of the company are : Philip Evan Thomas, president ;

Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Harryman Long, Jonathan Knight, board of engineers; Captain William Gibbs McNeill, United States topographical engineer; Lieutenants: William Cook, Joshua Barney, Walter Gwynn, Isaac Trimble, Richard Edward Hazzard, John N. Dillahunt of the United States artillery. Caspar Willis Wever, superintendent of construction."

Several days after this grand inauguration, the line from the place of deposit of the corner-stone to Ellicott's Mills, a distance of fourteen miles, was placed under contract and the work commenced. A part of this distance was ready for rails by the following October; and in a little over a year and a half from the organization of the company, an additional section was placed under contract, making the whole line at that date extend over twenty-three miles in length. The first division was completed in June, 1830, and passengers and freight were daily transported between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills. The motive power, of which more anon, was supplied altogether by horse-power; and, we are told, for a long time "the railroad was regarded as a great novelty, and the people of Baltimore, with their wives, sisters or friends, patronized it very extensively; a ride to Ellicott's Mills by railroad was a daily or weekly amusement." The outfit of cars proved inadequate to the demand; and although but one track had been finished, the receipts of the first four months showed an aggregate of over twenty thousand dollars.

OTHER PIONEER LINES.

Leaving the Baltimore & Ohio for the present, attention must be given to other pioneer lines that in north and south were being projected and built. The Mohawk & Hudson railroad, extending from Albany to Schenectady, was completed with a single track late in the year 1830, and on August 9, 1831, was opened for passenger traffic between those two points. In January, 1828, the legislature of South Carolina granted a charter for the building of a railroad between Charleston and the Savannah river. This company completed twelve miles by 1830, and the whole line, of nearly one hundred and thirty-six miles, was finished in 1833. Of other early projected roads, the *Yeoman's Gazette*, published in August, 1828, had the following interesting points of information:*

"The Quincy road has been a considerable time in operation, and far exceeds expectation. The Mauch Chunk railroad has also been finished. These are the only ones yet finished. The Schuylkill West Branch railroad has been begun; its length eight miles. In addition to these, projects have been on foot, and some advances made, toward making railroads from Boston to Providence, forty-two miles; from Boston to the Hudson near Albany, one hundred and eighty-seven miles; from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles. There are also the Camden

* *'Niles' Register,'* No. 34, August 23, 1828, p. 413.

& Amboy; the Danville & Pottsville; the Columbia & Philadelphia, and the Baltimore & Ohio railroads."

By this time—1828 to 1830—the era of the American railroad had set in, and suggestions and rumors as to the need of lines, or their early construction, were heard in every direction.

It is a matter of recorded fact, although very little known—for "backwoods" events were little heard of and less attended to by the newspapers of the Atlantic coast—that an effort was made as early as 1825, in northern central Ohio, to secure the benefits of this method of transportation, even before the Quincy road was opened or the first meeting of the Baltimore & Ohio projectors was held. This, the first movement for the building of a railroad made west of the Alleghany mountains and by some considered the very first one in the United States, was made at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1825, immediately following the location of the two branches of the Ohio canal from the Ohio river to Cleveland and to Toledo. The citizens of Sandusky had confidently expected but one canal through the state would be built, for only one was needed or in the least demanded by the business of the state, and would have been equal to all the business which was conveyed over both canals when completed. The report of Chief-Engineer Geddes had been in favor of the Sandusky or central route, and when, by the bargain under which two canals were forced upon the state, the central route was abandoned, the

leading citizens of Sandusky at once convened a public meeting for the object and purpose of such action as might be thought best to create an interest in the building of a line of railroad from Sandusky to Dayton. Honorable E. Cooke addressed the meeting, urging the feasibility of the enterprise. David Campbell, John N. Sloane, Abner Root, Moores Farwell, Dr. George Anderson, C. W. Marsh, Aaron C. Corbett, Hector Kilbourne, David Caswell, James Foreman and others were present. Resolutions approving of the object and appointing a committee to secure coöperation in the different counties from Sandusky to Dayton were adopted and the meeting adjourned.

The paucity in numbers of the population on the line of the proposed road and the fact that state aid could not be obtained by reasons of the immense sums expended by the state in the building of the two lines of canals—the cost of which *very* much exceeded the estimates of the easily influenced engineer to whom had been intrusted the estimate of the cost—and the general poverty of the pioneer population along the proposed line of road, all combined to delay action, but on the twenty-sixth of July, 1828, they caused a notice to be published that an application would be made to the state legislature at the next session, for a charter for the purpose of constructing said railroad; but one matter and another intervened, and no definite action was taken until 1832. The story of the

success that crowned this venture some years later will be related at its proper place.

SUPPLANTING THE HORSE.

Leaving for a time that portion of our subject which relates to the construction of lines, attention will be given to the steps by which the horse and gravity were supplanted upon this side of the sea by the marvelous power of steam, without which the railroad would have been little more than a well paved and guarded highway.

The first locomotive ever run in this country was in 1829, upon the Delaware & Hudson Canal railroad. The chief engineer of that company, John B. Jervis, sent his assistant, Horatio Allen, to England, to be present at the contest of locomotive engines at Rainhill in 1829; and so well satisfied was he with the results there obtained that he ordered three locomotives built for the Delaware & Hudson Canal road, the first one of which arrived in New York and was tried upon that line in the fall of 1829. Its name was "Stourbridge Lion," and to it belongs the honor of being *the first locomotive that ever turned a wheel in America*. It was a four wheeler, of the "grasshopper" pattern, and bore the picture of a large red lion painted on the head of the boiler.

The engine arrived at New York in May, and was for a time on exhibition at the West Point foundry, at the foot of Beach street, and the trial was made on the eighth of August. A cannon was taken from New York to Honesdale, and added its voice to the acclaims of

a large company of spectators who had assembled to witness the novel sight. "The track of the railroad consisted of hemlock rails spiked to hemlock ties," states one narrator of the event. "Having been laid in summer, the unseasoned rails had got a good deal warped and twisted before the opening day. The road crossed the Lackawaxen river over a frail hemlock trestle, one hundred feet in height, and as the locomotive was found to weigh seven tons instead of four, as the contract had stipulated, it was feared by everybody that the trestle would not bear its weight. Mr. Horatio Allen, who had charge of the engine, was implored by many prominent men who were present not to attempt to cross the river. But the garland of glory and fame was floating before the eyes of the young engineer, and after running slowly backward and forward a few times before the assembled multitude, he pulled the throttle valve open and, shouting a good-bye to the crowd, dashed swiftly around the dangerous curve and over the swaying bridge. After running a few miles he returned in safety, amid the shouts of the people and the booming of the cannon."* The old "Lion" deserved a better fate than was reserved to it. Although its work had been well performed, the company was neither able to introduce others nor to keep it at work, as iron rails—which could not then be afforded—would have to be laid in place of those of wood. So it lay under cover on the canal dock for

* 'Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway,' p. 37.

several years, neglected and unused, and finally was dismembered and went the way of all old iron.

The second railroad in America upon which a locomotive was ever run was the Charleston & Hamburg road of South Carolina; and that engine was the first ever constructed in America. It was named the "Best Friend," was built at the West Point foundry, and was first placed upon the track and run in November, 1830. On January 15, 1831, a new locomotive, and the second one placed upon this road, was run at the celebration which attended its opening; and this was also built at the West Point foundry.

Two other distinctive points of honor belong to this pioneer road of the south: it was the first regularly operated passenger road in this country for any distance, and was also the first to adopt the use of locomotives as a definite motive power.

As early as May, 1828, the company sent a special agent to England to investigate and report upon the completed railroads in that country, and his most interesting letter, dated Liverpool, August 8, 1828, is before us.* His decision was definitely in favor of steam and movable engines as against horse-power, wind-power, stationary engines or any of the other devices practiced in America hitherto. Upon the strength of his report, and in con-

sequence of such other information as they could obtain, the managers of that road came to a conclusion in favor of steam before those of any other American road reached that conclusion; and we find them making that decision by a formal vote in January, 1829. This may be safely regarded as the *first expression of absolute reliance* on the locomotive as a sole means of power in this country, if not in the world; and it was based on the judgment of the American whose letter I have above referred to, and this was before the Manchester and Liverpool experiments had been made. The writer evidently saw that the locomotives he describes could be improved, and had an undoubted confidence in their future. His communication is so full of interest and throws so many sidelights upon an era of railroad development about which nothing can be uninteresting, that I here reproduce it in full:

"LIVERPOOL, August 8, 1828.

"I have now the pleasure of communicating the result of some observations which I have been enabled to make since I last wrote you. With the exception of one or two small roads at some of the coal mines near this place, the railroad at Leeds was the first of much importance that I visited after leaving Liverpool. The railroad is about three and one-half miles in length, extending to a coal mine. It was constructed about fifteen years since. The rails are of cast-iron, in lengths of three feet, and mostly in bad order. Most of this road descends a little from the mine, and about the middle of the line

* 'Civil Engineer and Herald of Internal Improvement.' Published weekly, by John Kilbourn, Columbus, Ohio, October 25, 1828, p. 289. A reprint from the Charleston, S. C., *Courier*. This *Engineer* is a valuable authority on early canals and railroads.

has a self-acting plane of three hundred yards in length. They use a locomotive from each end of this plane, which they have had in use seven or eight years, and think them preferable to animal power. These engines are not of the most approved kind. They, however, travel with their train, consisting of fifteen or twenty cars, weighing nearly four tons each, at the rate of two and one-half or three miles per hour. I rode up and down the line of road on one of them, and find that they are easily managed and that their direction can be sooner changed than the time required to move a horse for that purpose. The next railroad of much importance that I visited was the Darlington & Stockton. This was the first experiment to apply railroads to the purpose of promiscuous traffic, and was opened to the public about two years since. The whole extent of this road, including some branches, is about thirty miles; and although its general object was to open a communication from the navigation of Stockton with an extensive coal region, it was also designed for the general trade of the interior. This road is a single track, and although the passings are from two to three in the mile, the detention to the trade is not very great. They use both horses and locomotive steam-engines upon this road, and have had a fair opportunity of testing their relative utility. The result has been much in favor of locomotives, as a reference with which I was favored to the accounts of the company fully testifies. The locomotives on this

road are used only in the coal trade, and run a distance of twenty miles from Stockton. The greater part of this distance descends toward Stockton, varying from one-sixteenth to one-third inch per yard; no part ascends in that direction, and only about two miles is level. They use four locomotive engines on this road, which lead from twenty to twenty-eight cars in their train, weighing each fifty-three hundred-weight independent of the car itself, and travel at a speed of four to seven miles per hour. Three of these engines are of Losh & Stephenson's construction, as they are generally called here, and one of them of Hackworth's. I rode up and down the road on these different engines a distance of thirty to forty miles. Losh & Stephenson's engines usually carry twenty cars—Hackworth's twenty-four and sometimes twenty-eight—with which it is capable of traveling six and seven miles per hour. The others travel five and six, which is as great a rate of speed as they think prudent to move at when loaded. Hackworth's engine is capable of ten to twelve miles per hour when light. In returning with the empty cars, I found that at the greatest ascents it required the whole power of the engines and reduced their speed nearly one-half. This road is of wrought-iron rails, in lengths of fifteen feet, which weigh twenty-eight pounds to the yard. From this railroad I proceeded to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This place, with its neighboring coal mines upon the Tyne, is the birth-place and cradle of railroads and locomotive steam-engines.

It was in this vicinity that railroads were first introduced, and it was at Killingworth, about five miles from Newcastle, the locomotive was first used to advantage.

"Killingworth is the residence of Mr. Wood, author of the treatise on railroads. Letters, with which the politeness of Mr. Stephenson furnished me previous to my leaving Liverpool, introduced me to Mr. Wood, who treated me with the greatest cordiality, and very kindly answered all the inquiries that my curiosity and invention could suggest, on the subject of railroads and locomotive steam-engines. The Killingworth railroad extends from the collieries of that name to the River Tyne, a distance of five miles. It was on this road that the plate rail was used at a very early period. The present road has been laid about twenty-two years, and is yet in pretty good order. The rails are of cast-iron, with the exception of a small portion, which was laid of wrought-iron, by way of experiment, about eight or nine years since. They have used the locomotive steam-engine here fifteen years. It was here that Losh & Stephenson first made their experiments on locomotives, and here Wood made most of the experiments recorded in his works on railroads, which I am happy to find is considered as good authority in this country as with us. Mr. Wood is now preparing a second edition of this work, which will comprise a great number of very interesting experiments and facts which his continued attention to the subject has developed. I saw these locomotives

at work upon this road. They performed much the same as those upon the Darlington & Stockton road; are of much the same construction as the three on that road. I have the particular dimensions of these engines, as well as those upon the Darlington & Stockton road.

"My next object was to visit the railroads in the vicinity of Killingworth, and they are as common here as coal mines, which are to be seen in every direction. The most interesting of those visited are the Springville and the Helton roads. The Springville road is a recent work, in very fine order. The rails are of wrought-iron, which is now altogether used in place of cast. They use one locomotive upon this road, which performs much the same as those described. The Helton road have laid by their locomotive engines on account of the line of road being unfavorable for them.

"At North Shields I saw a railroad, part of which was laid much after our plan. It had been laid about twenty years, and was in very bad order, though still used.

"Previous to my parting with Mr. Wood, he gave me letters to a Mr. Buchanan and a Mr. Granger of Edinburgh, my next object being to examine the railroads in Scotland. These gentlemen are civil engineers, and Mr. Granger the superintendent of most of the railroads now constructing in that quarter. They are constructing a railroad from Edinburgh to the Dalkeith collieries, a distance of six or seven miles. This will be an expensive work,

in tunneling, cuttings and embankments.

"After spending a short time at Edinburgh, I went in company with Mr. Granger to Glasgow, where he is superintending several railroads, and had the pleasure of traveling with him over the whole length of the Kirkintilloch railroad. This road commences at the canal, about nine miles from Glasgow, and extends into a coal region about eleven miles. Seven miles of this road have been in use about eighteen months; the rest is just opened. They use animal power only on this road, but are constructing one from Glasgow to connect with the far end of this, eight miles in length, upon which they intend using steam locomotives. This is heavy work; part of the cuttings and embankments are forty to fifty feet in depth. These railroads, together with those described in my last, comprise all the railroads of importance in the kingdom. Several others are projected, and some minor ones are in progress. Upon the whole, the subject appears to be quite as popular here as with us, notwithstanding they understand so much better than we do the expense of constructing railroads."

An interesting piece of information in connection with the early action of the South Carolina road may be found in *The Historical Magazine*,* which reproduced an article from the *Morning Star* of Wilmington, North Carolina, under date of August 21, 1868, where the following claim is advanced: "The

Charleston & Hamburg road, in South Carolina, it is asserted, was the first passenger railway constructed in the United States. It was commenced in the spring of 1829, and six miles were completed in that year. Governor Scott, in his message to the legislature of South Carolina, mentions it as a noteworthy fact that before the use of locomotives was established in Great Britain, or that they were known in the United States, the directors of this road determined, under the advice of their engineer (Mr. Horatio Allen) to make them exclusively the motive power. The same gentlemen in the winter of 1829 made the drawings of the first American steam locomotive, called the 'Best Friend,' which was planned by Mr. E. L. Miller of Charleston. It is further asserted that upon the Charleston & Hamburg road there was introduced, in 1831, for the first time on any railroad in the world, the important arrangement of two four-wheeled trucks for locomotives and long passenger cars."

The "Best Friend" was first used upon the track in November, 1830. It possessed a vertical boiler, devoid of fire-tubes, the furnace at the bottom of the boiler being surrounded by water, with protuberances running out from its sides and top in order to secure more heating surface. The machine ran for about a year, we are told, and "then exploded its boiler, owing to the unsuccessful attempt of the Negro fireman to stop the annoying hissing of the steam by sitting on the safety-valve; the Negro had his thigh broken, and

* *The Historical Magazine*, Volume V., second series, 1869, page 56.

afterwards died from the effects of the accident, while the engineer, Nicholas W. Darrell, was at the same time pretty badly scalded." The anniversary of the opening of the road was celebrated on January 15, 1831, by an excursion to invited guests, music and other exercises of an appropriate character.

On the ninth of August, 1831, a locomotive named the "Dewitt Clinton," which was also built at the West Point foundry, was run on the Mohawk & Hudson River railroad. This was the third locomotive engine ever built in the United States for actual service, and the first one ever here run for passenger service, those on the Delaware & Hudson being employed in the hauling of coal cars. The event was a memorable one, both in the history of the American railroad and of the Empire state, and all events connected therewith are of interest. The start was made at a point a couple of miles from the Hudson river, in Albany, and the train consisted of the "Clinton," a tender loaded with wood and water, and two passenger cars, formed by the placing of the bodies of stage-coaches upon railroad trucks. A gala day was made for all the country roundabout, and the sixteen miles of track between Albany and Schenectady was lined by curious crowds awaiting the advent of the much heralded steam-horse. Tickets had previously been sold, and at the proper moment the passengers took their seats, the signal was given by the blowing of a tin horn by the conductor and the cavalcade was under way. "The train was composed of coach

bodies," we are told by Judge J. L. Gillis, one of the passengers, "mostly from Thorp & Sprague's stage-coaches, placed upon trucks. The trucks were coupled together with chains, or chain links, leaving from two to three feet slack, and when the locomotive started, it took up the slack by jerks, with sufficient force to jerk the passengers, who sat on seats across the top of the coaches, out from under their hats; and in stopping they came together with such force as to send them flying from their seats. They used dry pitch-pine for fuel, and there being no smoke or spark-catcher to the chimney, or smoke-stack, a volume of black smoke, strongly impregnated with sparks, coals and cinders, came pouring back the whole length of the train. Each of the outside passengers who had an umbrella raised it as a protection against the smoke and fire. They were found to be but a momentary protection, for I think in the first mile the last one went overboard, all having their covers burnt off from the frames, when a general melee took place among the deck passengers, each whipping his neighbor to put out the fire. They presented a very motley appearance on arriving at the first station. The incidents off the train were quite as striking as those on board. A general notice of the contemplated trip having been given, it excited not only the curiosity of those living along the line of the road but of persons at a distance, causing a large collection of people at all the intersecting roads along the route. Everybody, together with his wife and

all his children, came in all kinds of conveyances and, being as ignorant of what was coming as their horses, drove up to the railroad as near as they could get, only looking for the best position to secure a view of the train. As it approached the horses took fright and wheeled, upsetting buggies, carriages and wagons and leaving for parts unknown to the passengers, if not to their owners." This was the beginning of steam travel upon the line that, as the present New York Central, occupies so prominent a position in the railway world.

The evolution of motive power on the Baltimore & Ohio also forms a remarkable chapter in this history of railroad development. As we have seen, a few miles of this line were operated late in the fall of 1828, and as far as Ellicott's Mills in 1829. Horse-power was the main reliance, although other sources were looked to and their use attempted. The most unique of these was the device of the president of the company, consisting of a sailing car named the "*Æolus*," which attracted a great deal of attention but was not found to be of much practicable value. "Then they tried," says one account, "a horse-power car, a machine somewhat like the wood-cutting apparatus we see at railway stations, only the horse on the Baltimore road propelled himself and his fellow-passengers over the rails, instead of sawing wood with a buzz-saw. The horse-power car worked pretty well, but on one occasion, when drawing a number of editors and other representatives of the

press, the machine ran into a cow and ignominiously upset the inspecting company in a ditch." The editor of the Baltimore *Gazette*, who was a member of that party, records* his experiences, and lays the blame upon the cow. He was, he tells us, one of seven persons in the car "propelled by two horses traveling on a wagon with a moving floor—constructed by Mr. Stimpson—which conveyed, besides the two vehicles, ten persons at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles per hour. On the return home, between the Carrollton viaduct and the depot, a cow crossed the railway so near the car, which was in front, that it was impracticable to stop it in time to prevent it from running against her; the car was of course overset, and the passengers were all thrown out, but none, as we believe, seriously injured." The narrator, in a semi-justification of the car, adds that the cow was killed by the collision. He further explains that the car was so constructed that the horses walking on it at the rate of two and a half miles per hour would propel it at the rate of fifteen miles per hour, with as little apparent fatigue as would be caused by ploughing, or drawing a loaded wagon.

A suggested venture toward steam power was made by an ingenious Marylander, who published a letter under date of February 26, 1829, in which he described a new and ingenious method for the rapid propulsion of cars, and to supersede the use of stationary engines for the purpose of ascending the inclined planes. His method may be

* '*Niles' Register*,' No. 40, p. 291.

briefly described as follows: A locomotive engine is used instead of a stationary one, and operates in a similar manner, viz., one end of a chain is made fast to a ring bolt, or any other stationary object, on the summit of the hill, and the other end is fixed to a cylinder, which is turned by the machinery in the steam carriage. By this means the cars are made to ascend the hill with as much facility as could be attained by a stationary engine. If necessary, the cars could be detached from the steam carriage, when the engine, by means of the chain and cylinder, could ascend alone. After the engine had arrived at the summit, it could be made fast, and, extending the chain backwards, draw up the cars in the same manner that a stationary engine could do. When the cars had so reached the apex of the hill, the whole caravan could proceed on the level or declivity, in the manner provided for such cases. "This method," explains the writer, "appears to possess several eminent advantages over the use of the stationary engine:

1. One carriage could run the length of the whole road, whereas if the stationary engine be used, one must be placed on the summit of every hill in the route.
2. There would be a great saving of fuel and attendants by using the locomotive instead of the stationary engine.
3. The former need be kept in operation only when its services were required; the latter must be kept in constant motion, or great delays must ensue to the cars used for transportation. And indeed, whenever the stationary engine could be used with ad-

vantage, the locomotive one would be found to answer every purpose."

SOME EARLY LOCOMOTIVES.

The interesting episode in connection with the trial of Peter Cooper's small engine, "Tom Thumb," on the Baltimore & Ohio line, has become so well known because of the long life and after-usefulness of its builder, that many have come to regard it as the pioneer locomotive in America, which it was not, and was never claimed to be by its inventor, as it was not operated until in 1830. The best method of relating that event is to employ the language of Mr. Cooper himself as told in the *Boston Herald* of July 9, 1882: "It is now about fifty-five years since I was drawn into a speculation in Baltimore," said the veteran philanthropist. "Two men there, whom I knew slightly, came up and asked me to join them in buying a tract of three thousand acres of land within the city limits. It included the shore for three miles, and the new Baltimore & Ohio railroad was going to run through it. The road was chartered and a little of it was graded. Its cars were to be drawn by horses—nobody thought of the possibility of steam. I consulted my friend, Gideon Lee, who served as alderman with me fifty-two years ago now, and he advised me that it was a good scheme. He said the land was worth five hundred thousand dollars whether the road was ever finished or not. So I went to Baltimore, saw the land and agreed to take one-third, and paid my money, twenty thousand dollars.

"They drew on me every little while for taxes, etc., and when, at the end of the year, I went down again, I found out that neither of my partners had paid a cent on the purchase, and that I had been sending down money to pay their board. The Baltimore & Ohio had got some wooden rails laid, and thinking it might amount to something, I bought my swindling partners out, paying one of them ten thousand dollars. I thought it would pay, for the Baltimore & Ohio railroad had run its tracks down to Ellicott's Mills, thirteen miles, and had laid 'quake-head' rails, as they called them—strap rails, you know—and had put on horses. Then they began to talk about the English experiments with locomotives. But there was a short turn of one hundred and fifty feet radius around Point of Rocks, and the news came from England that Stephenson said that no locomotive could draw a train on any curve shorter than a nine hundred foot radius. The horse-car didn't pay and the road stopped. The directors had a bad fit of the blues. I had, naturally, a knack at contriving, and I told the directors that I believed I could knock together a locomotive that would get the train around Point of Rocks. I found that my speculation was a loss unless I could make the road a 'go.'

"So I came back to New York and got a little bit of an engine, about one-horse power (it had a three and a half inch cylinder and fourteen inch stroke), and carried it back to Baltimore. I got some boiler iron and made a boiler

about as big as an ordinary wash-boiler, and then how to connect the boiler with the engine I didn't know. I had not only learned coach-making and wood-carving, but I had an iron foundry and had some manual skill in working in it. But I couldn't find any iron pipes. The fact is that there were none for sale in this country. So I took two muskets and broke off the wood part, and used the barrels for tubing to the boiler, laying one on one side and the other on the other. I went into a coach-maker's shop and made this locomotive, which I called the 'Tom Thumb,' because it was so insignificant. I didn't intend it for actual service, but only to show the directors what could be done. I meant to show two things: First, that short turns could be made; and, secondly, that I could get rotary motion without the use of a crank. I effected both of these things very nicely. I changed the movement from a reciprocating to a rotary motion. I got steam up one Saturday night; the president of the road and two or three gentlemen were standing by, and we got on the truck and went out two or three miles. All were very much delighted, for it opened up new possibilities for the road. I put the locomotive up for the night in a shed. All were invited to take a ride Monday—a ride to Ellicott's Mills. Monday morning, what was my grief and chagrin to find that some scamp had been there and chopped off all the copper from the engine and carried it away, doubtless to sell to some junk dealer. The copper pipes that conveyed the steam to the piston

were gone. It took me a week or more to repair it. Then (on Monday it was) we started—six on the engine and thirty-six on the car. It was a great occasion, but it didn't seem so important then as it does now. We went up an average grade of eighteen feet to the mile, and made the passage—thirteen miles—to Ellicott's Mills in an hour and twelve minutes. We came back in fifty-seven minutes. Ross Winans, the president of the road and the editor of the *Baltimore Gazette*, made an estimate of the passengers carried and the coal and water used, and reported that we did better than any English road did for four years after that. The result of that experiment was that the bonds of the road were sold at once, and the road was a success." This little engine weighed about a ton, with wheels two and a half feet in diameter. Its fuel was anthracite coal. A passenger who rode behind it in one of its experimental trips states that it made thirteen miles in sixty-one minutes, including four lost in taking in water. One mile was performed in three minutes and fifty seconds.

By the end of 1830 the officers of the company had reached a satisfactory conclusion that the locomotive was the power of the future, and in emulation of their English prototypes decided to make so generous an offer that the genius and mechanical skill of America would be moved to exertion toward the solution of the problem. Accordingly, on January 4, 1831, a card was issued containing all the requirements that must be met and explaining the diffi-

culties that must be encountered. As illustrating in detail the exact point to which railway science had then advanced, that document is worthy of quotation in full. It was as follows:

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company being desirous of obtaining a supply of locomotive engines of American manufacture adapted to their road, the president and directors hereby give public notice that they will pay the sum of four thousand dollars for the most approved engine which shall be delivered for trial upon the road on or before the first of June, 1831; and that they will also pay three thousand five hundred dollars for the engine which shall be adjudged the next best and be delivered as aforesaid, subject to the following conditions, to-wit:

1. The engine must burn coke or coal, and must consume its own smoke.

2. The engine, when in operation, must not exceed three and one-half tons weight, and must, on a level road, be capable of drawing, day by day, fifteen tons, inclusive of the weight of the wagons, fifteen miles per hour, the company to furnish wagons of Winans' construction, the friction of which will not exceed five pounds to the ton.

3. In deciding on the relative advantages of the several engines, the company will take into consideration their respective weights, power and durability, and all other things being equal, will adjudge a preference to the engine weighing the least.

4. The flanges are to run on the inside of the rails. The form of the cone and flanges and the tread of the wheels

must be such as are now in use on the road. If the working parts are so connected as to work with the adhesion of all the four wheels, then all the wheels shall be of equal diameter, not to exceed three feet; but if the connection be such as to work with the adhesion of two wheels only, then those two wheels may have a diameter not exceeding four feet, and the other two wheels shall be two and a half feet in diameter, and shall work with Winans' friction wheels, which last will be furnished upon application to this company. The flanges to be four feet seven and a half inches apart from outside to outside. The wheels to be coupled four feet from centre to centre, in order to suit curves of short radius.

5. The pressure of the steam not to exceed one hundred pounds to the square inch, and as less pressure will be preferred, the company in deciding on the advantages of the several engines will take into consideration the relative degrees of pressure. The company will be at liberty to put the boiler, fire tube, cylinder, etc., to the test of a pressure of water not exceeding three times the pressure of the steam intended to be worked, without being answerable for any damage the machine may receive in consequence of such test.

6. There must be two safety-valves, one of which must be completely out of reach or control of the engine man, and neither of which must be fastened down while the engine is working.

7. The engine and boiler must be supported on springs and rest on four

wheels, and the height from the ground to the top of the chimney must not exceed twelve feet.

8. There must be a mercurial gauge affixed to the machine with an index rod, showing the steam pressure above fifty pounds to the square inch, and constructed to blow out at one hundred and twenty pounds.

9. The engines which may appear to offer the greatest advantages will be subjected to the performance of thirty days' regular work on the road; at the end of which time, if they shall have proved durable and continue to be capable of performing agreeably to their first exhibition as aforesaid, they will be received and paid for as here stipulated.*

In response to this invitation three locomotives were offered, only one of which appeared to fulfill the requirements of the company. This was the "York," built in a village of the same name, in Pennsylvania, some fifty miles north of Baltimore. It was the work of Phineas Davis, a skilled mechanic, and built by the firm of Davis & Gardiner. After undergoing slight changes, it was found capable of conveying fifteen tons, at the rate of fifteen miles per hour, on a level road. For a considerable period it was employed in service between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, generally performing the trip in one hour, drawing four cars, with a gross weight of fourteen tons. The engine was mounted on four wheels of thirty inches diameter; and

*An interesting comparison may be made between these stipulations and those of the Liverpool & Manchester road, already quoted.

the velocity was obtained by means of gearing with a spur wheel and pinion on one of the axles of the road wheels. Its weight was three and a half tons, and it could be made to attain a speed of from twenty to thirty miles per hour. It could pass the curves with ease, overcoming those of four hundred feet radius, the shortest on the road, at the rate of fifteen miles per hour. Anthracite coal was used as a fuel. The directors of the company, in their fifth annual report, under date of October 1, 1831, are cautious yet hopeful concerning the future of steam. In reference to the recent offer and experiments, they state that "the directors being desirous of procuring their steam machinery, as far as practicable, of American workmanship, and anxious to direct the mechanical genius of this country to its further improvement, offered a premium for the best constructed locomotive engine which should be placed upon the road on or before the first of June, 1831, limiting the performance to a certain rate of speed and power of traction. Only one engine has as yet been offered, which, on trial, appeared to be adapted to the structure of our road. This engine, it is believed, taking into consideration its weight, is, in point of efficiency, nearly if not quite equal to any locomotives yet tried. From the experiments which the board have been enabled to make with it, they have fully ascertained that steam-power may be used on the Baltimore & Ohio road, at a rate of speed and economy of cost which will fully realize the most sanguine anticipations of the company ;

arrangements are accordingly now in train to procure a sufficient number of locomotive engines of a weight and construction suitable for the travel and transportation on the road. These, it is expected, will be in readiness by the time the two sets of tracks shall be completed to the Potomac river, and until then the transportation on the western divisions of the road will be effected by horse-power." In a communication to the governor of Maryland, under date of December 20, 1831, the president of the company adds that from the experiments already made he has no reason to doubt that traveling upon it "may at least be safely carried at the rate of from twelve to fifteen miles an hour by the aid of steam-power, and that passengers may be conveyed from Baltimore to the Ohio river within from twenty-four to thirty hours, at all seasons of the year."*

The success of the "York" soon led to the building of another in the same shop, and the "Atlantic" made its appearance upon the road. Its capacity is demonstrated somewhat by the fact that among its early exploits it ran a distance of twenty-nine miles with ninety passengers in six cars in three hours, including a number of detentions. She returned at the rate

* In the early days the railroad cars were designated by special names, and we learn that in the fall of the year under consideration twelve new cars were placed on the Baltimore & Ohio, bearing the following appellations : Pennsylvania, Patapsco, Linganore, Potomac, Monococy, Catoctin, Shenandoah, Antietam, Conococheague, Monongahela, Alleghany and Youghiogheny—a collection that would drive an employee not native to that section of the country wild.

of fourteen miles per hour. With its advent the era of steam upon the Baltimore & Ohio was fully inaugurated.

SUGGESTIVE POINTS.

Before following the fortunes of the American railroad beyond the opening of this third decade of the century, some items of minor but general interest may be rapidly grouped together, in conclusion of this chapter.

The first steam passenger train run in the state of Pennsylvania was in the month of November, 1832, on the Philadelphia, Germantown & Norristown railroad. The locomotive employed was the "Ironsides," built by M. W. Baldwin of Philadelphia, the founder of the great locomotive works at that point that afterwards bore his name. It had wooden spokes and wrought-iron tires, and sometimes it would become so complicated in its own machinery as to be brought to a standstill and able to go neither forward nor backward. Its weight was seven tons. Upon its trial trip, "it was discovered that the wheels were too light to keep the machine on the track, so the builders and two machinists pushed it ahead until considerable speed had been obtained, when all jumped aboard, in order by their weight to keep the wheels down. Moreover, the boiler was too small for the engine, and steam could only be generated fast enough to keep it in motion for a short time, so that for a large portion of the distance from Philadelphia to Germantown, it was necessary alternately to push and ride to cover

the distance. On the return, the connecting pipe between the tank and the boiler became frozen, and had to be thawed out with a fire made of rails."

The first *passenger* and locomotive engine train in the state of Massachusetts was run in March, 1834, on the Boston & Worcester railroad.

The first railroad operated in the state of Delaware was the New Castle & Frenchtown railroad, completed in 1832.

The first railroad completed in the state of Virginia was the Chesterfield railroad, completed in July, 1831, length thirteen and a half miles, connecting the coal basin with tidewater on the James river.

The first railroad completed and operated in the state of Ohio was the Mad River & Lake Erie, from Sandusky to Bellevue, in the spring of 1838. The locomotive used was built at Patterson, New Jersey, could make a speed of twenty miles an hour and was the first engine with the steam-whistle attached that was built.

The first railroad built and operated in the state of Illinois was the Great Western, then called the Northern Cross, from Meredosia, on the Illinois river, to Springfield, the capital of the state; the locomotive was first placed on this road in the fall of 1838, and its speed was only six miles an hour.

The hard-earned and, in many ways, costly experience of the Baltimore & Ohio was of signal benefit to the other lines that had the use of that experience; and the American Railroad *Journal* of 1835—for of course a railroad publica-

tion appeared as soon as there was a suggestion of an opening for it—was not far out of the way when it designated that company as "The Railroad University of the United States," for the teachers elsewhere received the greater part of their instruction through its successes and mistakes. "They have labored long," it declared, "at great cost, and with a diligence which is worthy of all praise in the cause; and, what is equally to their credit, they have published annually the results of their experiments, and distributed their reports with a liberal hand, that the world might be cautioned by their errors and instructed by their discoveries. Their reports have, in truth, gone forth as a text-book, and their road and workshops have been a lecture-room to thousands who are now practising and improving upon their experience. This country owes to the enterprise, public spirit and perseverance of the citizens of Baltimore a debt of gratitude of no ordinary magnitude, as will be seen from the president's report in relation to their improvements upon, and performances with, their locomotive engines, when compared with the performances of the most powerful engines of Europe, or rather in imagination in 1829, only six years ago."

Take, for example, the single matter of track, in illustration of the above. The successive steps of improvement on the Baltimore & Ohio may be summed up: The granite and iron rail; the wood and iron on stone blocks; the wood and iron on wooden sleepers, supported by broken stone; the same

supported by longitudinal ground-sills, in place of broken stone; the log rails, formed of trunks of trees, worked to a level surface on one side to receive the iron, and supported by wooden sleepers; and the wrought-iron rails of the English mode—all these experiments had been tried as early as 1832. In September of that year steel springs were placed under the locomotive "York," and were found of such benefit that they were subsequently placed on the freight and passenger cars. They allowed a decided increase in the load of freight carried, without adding much to the destruction of the rail, or requiring an increase of motive power.

The early experiments upon this line showed that the cost of steam-power over that of horse-power was seventeen dollars per day in favor of the former, the locomotive costing sixteen dollars per day, while the performance of the same work by horses would cost thirty-three dollars per day. Only three engines were employed up to July, 1834—the "York," the "Atlantic" and the "Franklin." When the road was extended to Harper's Ferry, four much larger engines were added, all of them of American manufacture. The car "Columbus," that was placed upon this line in 1831, was regarded as a model in its way. It was the largest then produced, and was capable of carrying one hundred and fifty passengers. A promenade was on top, surrounded by a handsomely ornamented iron railing, and provided with a number of settees above and below.

A queer experiment was made on the

Baltimore & Susquehanna road in July, 1831, operated by horse-power, and opened for travel only a few days before. It consisted in placing the horses between two cars, where they were confined by means of shafts extending from one car to the other, resting at each end upon the pivot piece, so as to allow them free play in passing the curves. These shafts were made of strong timber, so that the horse or horses could not possibly get off the road; and to guard against stumbling, a broad belt of leather was passed from shaft to shaft underneath the animal, of sufficient strength to prevent his going down; and for greater security, two bows of iron were made to pass from shaft to shaft over the horses. By these means, the horse was free in action, but so held that he could neither fall down nor get off the track. There is no telling to what length Yankee ingenuity would not have gone had the locomotive not stopped all further development in this direction.

An interesting question was raised as early as 1830 by the Franklin, Kentucky, *Commentator* as to whether or not live stock, on the way to market, could ever be carried on the railroad. It seriously inquired whether there was any way of transporting live animals as cheaply, safely and conveniently as upon their own feet, followed by drivers. The editor of the *Commentator* probably lived to see some very practical answers to his question.

An active citizen of Baltimore, Ross Winans, was early in the field with a newly-invented railroad car that secured him great honor and no small pecuniary

return. The Liverpool, England, *Mercantile Advertiser* of August 3, 1829, has this to say of his invention: "Ross Winans, esq., has invented a carriage very simple in its construction, and likely to be of immense value to the carrying trade of this country. He has obtained a patent for the United Kingdom, as well as in the United States, where it has been in successful operation since the month of January last."

The Albany *Argus* in October, 1831, contained notices of intended applications to the legislature of New York for railroads, the aggregate capital of which would amount to twenty-two millions of dollars. All of these were for roads between Buffalo and Albany, two to run through; the third from Buffalo to the Cayuga lake, and the fourth from Utica to Cayuga lake.

In the fifth annual report of the Baltimore & Ohio directors already quoted, we find this statement: "A railway is now constructing between New York and Philadelphia, another across the peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, to connect with the steamboat traveling between Baltimore and Philadelphia; these works are fast approaching toward completion, and will, when finished, insure an easy and rapid communication between those three great commercial emporiums, reciprocally beneficial to them all, and vastly increasing the travel and intercourse between them. By constructing a railway from Baltimore to Washington, this line of communication would be extended from New York to the capital of the United States."

J. H. KENNEDY.

[To be continued.]

MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

THE progress of industrial education in this country during the past half century has developed many institutions and schools of technology, among which the agricultural college holds an important place. Although not exclusively an American institution, the agricultural college in the United States differs in one essential particular, at least, from similar institutions in foreign countries: that is, the American agricultural college is supported wholly by the state. Of course this could not be possible in Europe where the governments are either despotic or aristocratic, and where little sympathy is felt on the part of the law-makers with the elevation of the working classes. Hence, schools of technology and agriculture in Europe have depended mainly upon private enterprise for their establishment and maintenance, and consequently have been of slow growth. In Great Britain the traditional policy has been that of discouraging the support of professional or technical schools by the public, holding that if there was a sufficient demand for such schools, there would naturally be ample means for their establishment and maintenance arising from their patronage as private institutions. But experience has shown the error of this position. The plant for such institutions is costly and the profits uncertain, and therefore private capital has been slow to invest in such enterprises. For this reason, and because

government has held aloof from founding and supporting industrial schools, England has no agricultural colleges to-day, and only within the past year has a royal commission been appointed to consider the subject of agricultural education in the United Kingdom. Judging from Professor Ramsay's article in the March number of Blackwood's Magazine, there would seem to be a demand for such action. Professor Ramsay says:

There is no branch of our trade at this moment which lies in a more hopeless state of prostration than that of our agriculture; there is none which is being carried on more entirely by the old rule of thumb, and in more absolute disregard of the principles or of the very existence of science.

Speaking of the simplest products of English farms, as butter and cheese, the professor says that "these manufactures are carried on with no more science than was devoted to them in the days of Theocritus, and in absolute ignorance of the laws on which they depend."

It is a matter for congratulation that in the United States these evils have been avoided by ample provision for agricultural education on the part of the states and the general government. All our agricultural colleges are state institutions. Not only have such colleges been alone practicable in this country, but the founders of them were wise and sagacious enough to foresee that government support was the only solid foundation upon which

to place them in order to insure their success.

Michigan Agricultural college was not only the first institution of the kind based wholly on state support, but it was the first agricultural college founded in the United States. Other states had moved in the same direction, but the young state of Michigan outstripped them all.

It was quite natural in a new state like Michigan, where the chief settlers were agriculturists and owners and tillers of their own lands, that the idea of a college for the education of this class and for the elevation of farming as an industry should have been thought of; and the majority of the legislators being farmers, or those interested in developing the agricultural resources of the state, it was quite easy, in comparison with the difficulties which had to be overcome in the older states, to get the legislature to provide the means for such a college. Fortunately Michigan had at that time the right men for the work—men with the intelligence and foresight to know what was wanted, and with the practical wisdom to devise means of securing it—such men as Bela Hubbard, Joseph R. Williams, Justus Gage, Professor J. C. Holmes, Governor E. Ransom, Michael Shoemaker and F. S. Finlay—all of whom, except Mr. Williams, were present at "the second annual meeting of the executive committee of the State Agricultural society, held at Jackson, December 19, 1849," at which the first resolution looking to the founding of an agricultural college in Michigan was adopted. It was resolved to interest the legislature in establishing a central agricultural office with which should be connected a museum of agricultural

products and implements and an agricultural library, and, as soon as practicable, an agricultural college and model farm. A committee was appointed to memorialize the legislature, and in January, 1850, Bela Hubbard, on behalf of the committee, presented the subject in a well-considered memorial, in which he set forth what special objects should be taught, and summed up the scope of such an institution by saying that there should be taught there "those branches of education which will tend to render agriculture not only a useful but a learned and liberal profession, and its cultivators not the 'bone and sinew' merely, but ornaments of society."

On April 2, 1850, a joint resolution was passed by the legislature asking the Michigan representatives in congress to urge upon the general government the donation of 350,000 acres of land to the state for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an agricultural college.

The revised constitution adopted August 15, 1850, required that the legislature as soon as practicable should provide for the establishment of an agricultural school, and that such school, upon the option of the people, might be made a branch of the State university.

At the annual meeting of the executive committee of the State Agricultural society, held December 14, 1852, a committee was appointed to urge upon the legislature immediate compliance with the provisions of the constitution respecting the establishment of an agricultural school. The efforts of this committee were without avail, except in so far as they kept the project before the people. Similar action was taken by the same committee at the

next session of the legislature. In the meantime, the state board of education had caused to be taught at the normal school the elements of scientific agriculture, and the regents of the university had organized an agricultural school as part of the scientific course then recently adopted in that institution, and had announced a free course of lectures in the university upon agricultural science. There were now three parties in the state, divided upon the question of the dependence or the independence of the proposed agricultural college, and with what institution, if any, it should be associated: the friends of the Normal school wanted it connected with that institution; a large and powerful faction determined that it should be made a department of the university. The discussion became so animated and general all over the state that when the executive committee of the Agricultural society met on December 12, 1854, the subject was ripe for action, and after full discussion, upon motion of Mr. Bartlett of Monroe, it was resolved that "the Agricultural college should be separate from every other institution." A committee was appointed to urge action upon the legislature about to convene, which was accordingly done, and on February 12, 1855, the legislature passed the act establishing the college. It provided that the site of the contemplated college should be not more than ten miles from Lansing; that the farm should not cost to exceed fifteen dollars per acre, and should consist of not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand acres. There was appropriated by the same bill twenty-two sections of salt springs land,

which was to be sold and the proceeds used to buy a farm, erect buildings and secure apparatus and teachers. The bill was framed and ably advocated by Honorable J. C. Holmes, one of the college's greatest benefactors. It contained the two features—compulsory labor and the independence of the college of all other institutions—the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of thirty years. Too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Holmes for the part he took in devising a scheme which at that time had absolutely no model in any existing institution, or suggestion in any article written or printed, known to the writer. A strenuous effort was made to thwart the scheme of Mr. Holmes; and in June, 1855, when the committee met at Lansing to examine sites for the college farm, a long argument was offered by Professor Alexander Winchell, in which he urged that, even in the face of the recently enacted law, the college should be made a department of the State university. Mr. Holmes, then secretary, made a lengthy report, showing the status of agricultural colleges in the United States and in Europe.

On the sixteenth of June the committee decided upon the location for the college. The farm consists of 675.57-100 acres situated in the towns of Meridian and Lansing, on the Cedar river, about three miles east of the capitol building. It was purchased for fifteen dollars an acre, and was at the time almost wholly unimproved. The buildings first erected consisted of the present college hall, a small boarding hall, a brick barn, now standing, and three of the residences occupied

by professors of the college. The college was dedicated on May 13, 1857, in the presence of the governor, state officers and a large concourse of people from all parts of the state. The faculty consisted of Joseph R. Williams, president and director of the farm; Calvin Tracy, professor of mathematics; L. R. Fisk, professor of chemistry; H. Goadly, professor of physiology and entomology; John C. Holmes, professor of horticulture. The college opened with sixty-one students. There were at first two terms a year, one long term and one short winter term. This continued for two years and afforded a large laboring force for clearing off the heavy forest.

The following description of the pioneer days of the college is copied from President Willits' inaugural address, delivered on August 19, 1885:

It was a pioneer institution in the literal sense; not only was it the first of its kind, but it began at the stump, so to speak. The first tools needed were an ax to fell a tree and a spade to dig a well. It has gone through all the stages of pioneer life; it has had its corduroy roads, its chills and fevers, chills predominating; it was almost a generation "getting out of the woods;" so that its primal energies were, in a sense, wasted in subduing a farm, in taking a large tract of land in a state of nature and fitting it to become a "model farm" instead of taking improved land already for experiment. The result was that many of the promoters of the enterprise became impatient, then cool and finally opposed to it. They could not wait. There was not much science, of course, needed in clearing land, and the critics looked in vain, as they said, for results, except financial ones, on the wrong side of the ledger. Their clamor brought on the stump puller before nature had had time to make stump pulling economical, and so all along the line the board and the faculty worked at a disadvantage, but with heroic persistency they continued their efforts until the people begin to think that the enterprise pays, not always in the direct sense of financial

profit in the enterprise itself but, as we hope and feel assured, in the higher field, as a promoter of scientific intelligence.

During the first three years of its existence the college was under the management of the state board of education. It was the policy of that board to prescribe a course of practical agricultural study, limited to two years, such as is still maintained in the agricultural colleges of some of the states, and the plan was working great injury to the college by compelling many of its brightest students to go elsewhere for the higher education which they sought. To remedy this evil it was resolved to make the institution a college in fact as well as in name. It was accordingly reorganized in 1861 and placed under the state board of agriculture, a body created by law expressly to take charge of the college.

This board, unlike the state board of education, has always consisted of farmers or of those in full sympathy with agriculture. The governor and president of the college are members *ex-officio*.

The first state board of agriculture consisted of the following members: David Carpenter of Lenawee county; Justus Gage of Cass county; Philo Parsons of Wayne county; Hezekiah G. Wells of Kalamazoo county; Silas A. Yerkes of Kent county, and Charles Rich of Lapeer county. The first president elected upon the organization of the board was Honorable Hezekiah G. Wells, who continued by successive elections to hold the office until 1883, a period of twenty-two years. His successor has been Honorable Franklin Wells of Constantine.

No student is admitted to the college

who is not fifteen years of age, and who does not pass a satisfactory examination in arithmetic, geography, grammar, reading, spelling and penmanship. The law prescribes a full course of four years, embracing the English language and literature, mathematics, civil engineering, agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable anatomy and physiology, the veterinary art, entomology, geology and such other natural sciences as may be prescribed, technology, political, rural and household economy, horticulture, moral philosophy, history, bookkeeping and especially the application of science and the mechanic arts to practical agriculture in the field.

The law authorizes the college to confer degrees. As yet it has conferred no honorary degree except that of master of science, and this only upon its own graduates.

Two positions have been steadily adhered to by the Agricultural College of Michigan, which have placed it at the head of its class. First, it has been maintained as a separate special school of agriculture, and thus an opportunity has been afforded to develop its new and peculiar features. The experiment has proved so successful that the "Michigan plan" has been adopted by all the agricultural colleges in the new states. Secondly, the Michigan Agricultural college has held to the manual labor feature as a necessary adjunct in accomplishing the work contemplated by the land grant from the general government. Thus her students have been kept in sympathy with manual labor, and as a result half of her graduates are actually engaged in

pursuits which are specially kept in view in her course of instruction.

It is a mistake to suppose, as some do, that comparatively few of the students of this college follow the occupation of farming. At least ninety per cent. of those who enter the college are farmers' sons. Those among them who have farms, either in fact or in prospect, or who intend to follow farming for a livelihood, do not, as a rule, graduate; they complete certain special studies, and then return to their farms. Those, however, who desire to enter any of the more lucrative professions, graduate, as a rule, both on account of the advantages of the higher culture and the prestige of a full college course.

Of the three thousand students who have entered the college first and last, at least ninety per cent. of the whole and over fifty per cent. of the graduates are farmers, or are following some kindred occupation. Many of the graduates and students of the college have become members of the legislature, and this, of late years, has brought that body into more hearty coöperation with the college. Another strong feature of the college is that it is working in perfect unison with the farmers throughout the state. They all look upon it as *their* college; they submit their many questions to the professors for solution; in the winter seasons the professors go out and hold farmers' institutes in different parts of the state, which is a sort of extension of the privileges of the college to the homes and neighborhoods of the farmers. It is surprising how bright and intelligent the farmers of Michigan become through these opportunities, as well as through the

direct agency of the college, and they are thus brought into close sympathy with it all over the state.

Before entering upon a description of the different departments of the college as at present carried on, a few notes touching some of the professors and grad-

the state but the Nation. He is the oldest professor now in the college. In 1868 Professor Prentiss was called to Cornell university.

In 1871 William J. Beal was elected professor of botany. Dr. Beal's hard, earnest work and thoroughly scientific



COLLEGE BUILDING.

uates may not be amiss. In 1862 Dr. T. C. Abbot was made president, Dr. R. C. Kedzie, professor of chemistry, A. N. Prentiss, professor of botany and horticulture. All those appointments were singularly fortunate. Dr. Kedzie has a National reputation. He still holds his place after the lapse of twenty-five years, and has made the chair with which he is connected celebrated not only throughout

methods have done very much to arouse and develop in the students a love of science and its study.

Dr. M. Miles, professor of zoölogy 1861 to 1865, won the respect of the students and the faculty, and as professor of practical agriculture from 1865 to 1869, not only maintained his standing but made his department one of the most popular in the college.

Professor George T. Fairchild came to the college in 1866 and remained until 1879. His work and influence at the college were invaluable. He will ever be most affectionately remembered by the students of those thirteen years, as a ripe scholar, a thorough, accurate teacher, and, above all, as a Christian gentleman. There was universal regret when he was called to a higher place in a sister college.

Professor C. L. Ingersoll, a graduate of the college in 1874, was appointed professor of practical agriculture in 1876. In 1879 he resigned to accept a call to Purdue university. Although Professor Ingersoll was fresh from graduation and taught those who had been his fellow-students, yet his success was exceptional. He is now the honored head of Colorado Agricultural college, which, under his management, is making rapid and substantial progress. Sixteen of the graduates of Michigan Agricultural college are professors or instructors in similar institutions in different states. Of the early graduates an unusually large number have attained positions of honor and distinction: Prentiss, Clute, Daniells, Millard, Tracy, Judge Morse, Senator Monroe, Congressmen Allen, Macomber, Bessey, Garfield, Shelton, Halstead, etc., well illustrate this fact.

THE FARM.

The farm is an open book for the daily instruction of the student, with nearly

every tree and plant that can be grown in this climate duly labeled; with its lesson in landscape gardening, the daily study of teacher and pupils, all an educator of refined taste and a practical exemplification of what tree and shrub, lawn and drive, can do in adorning a home.

Extended practical instruction is given upon land drainings, rotation of crops, the proper cultivation of crops, the management of manures, care of farm premises and implements, breeds of domestic animals, their characteristics and adaptations,

the feeding of animals, marketing, farm accounts, farm law, etc. Theoretical instruction is supplemented, illustrated and enforced by the actual working of a farm of six hundred acres, with improved buildings, implements and the various breeds of stock.

BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT.

The botanical laboratory and museum of vegetable products, with the needed rooms, occupy the whole of a fine Gothic building 46 by 66 feet, two stories high, with a gallery above. The rooms contain many of the most recent and valuable works on botany, a fine herbarium, including mosses and fungi; a collection of seeds, grains, grasses, fruits and preparations ready for study; the state collection of forestry products shown at Philadelphia and New Orleans, for which diplomas were given. The laboratory contains a large number of good compound microscopes, with much useful accessory apparatus.



With an arboretum of 200 species, a botanic garden of 700, greenhouses containing 1000 species and varieties, the parks, gardens and orchards many more, the botanical department is rarely at a loss for any kind of material for study and illustration.

THE CHEMICAL DEPARTMENT.

The chemical department with its laboratory of 18 rooms, a lecture room with seats for 150 students, with two rooms for chemical analysis and desk space for 68 students, with two rooms for quantitative work and original investigation, affording space for 20 additional students, with its choice and extensive chemical and physical apparatus, affords a rare opportunity for students in chemistry and allied sciences. In place of the traditional "one term in chemistry with experimental illustrations," the course in chemistry at this college extends through two years. The students not only witness the experiments in the lecture room, but they have the opportunity to repeat and vary them in the working laboratory.

THE DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL SCIENCES.

The department of anatomy, physiology, and zoölogy is now very thoroughly equipped. The attractions in geology, zoölogy and anatomy are extensive, and have been selected and arranged with special reference to imparting instruction. The collections in entomology are specially valuable, and the department of economic entomology has had special consideration. In the museum and collections there is not only a manikin, but skeletons of all classes of vertebrates,

models of the lower animals and special organs, which, in connection with laboratory work—dissections and the study of systematic zoölogy—makes the course very complete and gives admirable opportunity for post graduate study. The laboratories are large and convenient, and are always open for the accommodation of students.

THE VETERINARY DEPARTMENT,

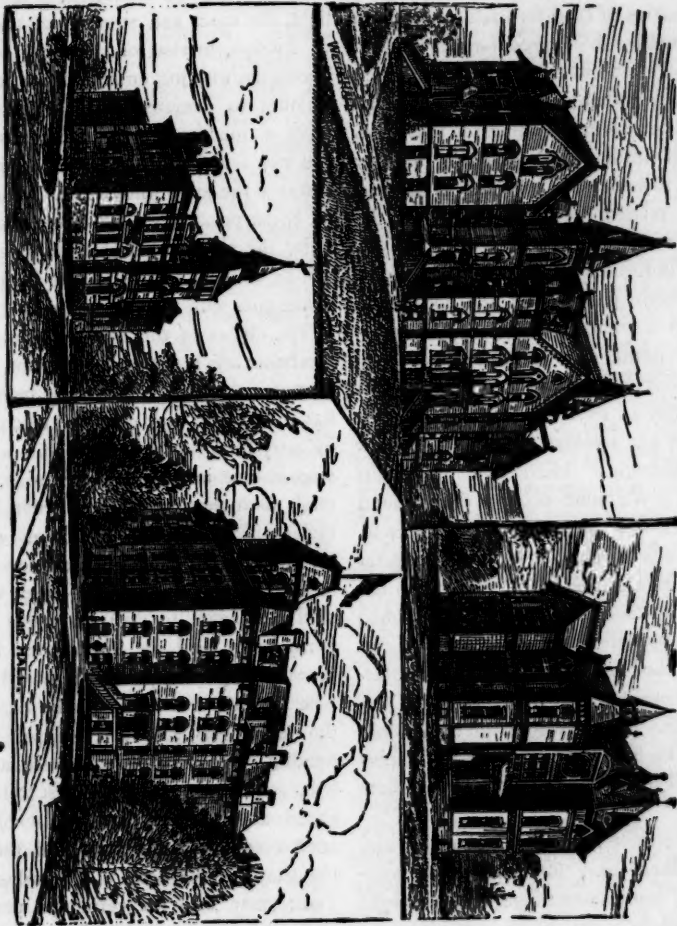
recently established, promises to become of prime importance in consequence of the large interests engaged in stock raising, and the prevalence of communicable diseases among animals. It is important that we should have men educated specially in veterinary science; that we have in considerable numbers persons skilled in the diseases of domestic animals, and that we no longer depend upon the limited acquirements of the old-fashioned "horse doctor." All the students in the agricultural course receive instruction in this science, and their interest in the lectures fully indicates their appreciation of their importance.

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT,

also recently established, promises to be productive of good in an exercise and drill that far excels in beneficial results all that can be claimed by the best conducted gymnasiums. With a competent instructor detailed by the war department, with arms and accoutrements and ammunition donated by the United States, the military feature bids fair to be attractive and useful.

THE DEPARTMENT OF MECHANIC ARTS.

The college, as before remarked, was established by the state purely as an



agricultural school. Its sole intent was to promote scientific agriculture. In 1862 the general government donated, under certain conditions, to each of the states 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in congress for the "endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

Our industries are an important factor in our body politic—not the controlling one, but a tremendously powerful one—and our future is to be largely shaped by our ability to manufacture as well and as cheaply as anyone else. To do this we must put intelligence into our shops and theoretical instruction into our schools. We must occupy this ground ourselves, with our own brains and muscle. Two-thirds of our foremen and master mechanics are foreigners, educated in the technical schools of Europe, or instructed by an apprenticeship, which is not germane to our institutions. An apprenticeship is considered by our young men but a remove from serfdom, and the only chance we have for success is to import our skilled mechanics or educate them here.

Hence there is a place, and a large and well-defined one, for schools of technology; institutions where may be taught the sciences upon which our industries depend. The mere shop is no place for this instruction; there is neither time nor opportunity to discuss the general principles upon which the industry is based.

There should be some place or institution capable of making an intelligent mechanic, intelligent in all the principles of mechanics, in the law of motion, of sound, of light, the kinds and strength of material, of friction, inertia, of electricity, steam, chemistry, with just enough of the manual training to demonstrate the principles. Such a mechanic with this knowledge can step into a shop and in a short time distance the man who has no schooling in these principles; he can sooner acquire the skill in his profession, and it will be of more service in that his intelligence goes with it hand in hand.

The object of the new department of mechanic arts is to supply this want. The purpose is to take the young man who has an aptitude and taste for mechanical industry from the shop, give him a thorough course in drawing and design, thorough instruction in all those general principles which he cannot obtain elsewhere, give him daily practical work in the shop, and then return him to the shop, with a skill competent to take his place as a journeyman and an intelligence fitting him for foremanship; with a moral purpose not above working at the bench or the forge, and yet with a capability of handling men and affairs. Such a man will, as journeyman, be the first to be engaged and the last to be discharged; such a man is on the high road, through the shop, to the head of his industry, a journeyman with the germ and possibilities of a master mechanic. The tendency of the regulation college, whose purpose is a general and so-called liberal education, is to breed, to use the words of another, "a sort of contempt for man-

ual labor and the man who performs it, and to give its students very stilted notions about culture and the exalted character of the work they must do, because, forsooth, they are graduates." Such a man "is not calculated to blossom out into the common-sense, aggressive, enterprising young American, who is ready to do anything honorable until something better offers, and who is sure to make his way in the world." Is it possible to have a college that shall educate the scholar and yet save the artisan; that shall make the man of culture and yet preserve the farmer? We believe it is, and that the Agricultural College of Michigan is such an institution.

Says President Willits:

We believe this college has the power to make just such men, and we proclaim to all the world that we do not want a young man that is ashamed to work with his hands as well as his brain. If he can accomplish more by brain work after he leaves us, well and good, we do not object; but whether he can or not, he will not feel above work in the shop or on the farm. He will do that cheerfully, because he will feel there is no disgrace in it. That is the initial point in the character of the young men we seek to send out. We want no loafers here, and we shall mourn over every loafer who carries our degree with him into the busy world to which we accredit him. Therefore, we ask the people of this goodly state to consider the matter, and if they wish their sons to come to us, we will try to equip them in mind and body, and to send them back with this industrial purpose.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STATION.

Experiments are constantly being made in all the departments. Many are inconsequential and useless; many never see the light of day; but all contribute to the general knowledge of the subject. It is as important to know of a failure and, if possible, its cause, as of a success.

There has been in the country at large disappointment over the meagreness of the results in agricultural experiments up to this time. An impartial consideration of the matter would disarm most of the criticism. The failure lies in the nature of the subject. There is an incertitude in agriculture that does not exist in the exact sciences. Such is the variety of seed, soil and climate; so inconstant is the weather; so many perils of water, drouth and insects beset the paths of the agriculturist between seed time and harvest, that no man can predict with assurance the result of his labors, and no experiment can promise absolute success in all places and by all persons. The consequence is that a large range of experiments is necessary with a more extended range of years; but of the grand aggregate result there can be no question. The introduction of a new variety of seed may in a single year pay well the expense of all the experiments in the past. It is only by trying and testing that the best is found or the bad eliminated. It is to be hoped that congress will pass the bill appropriating funds to make all the agricultural colleges experimental stations, and that thereby these colleges may have an assurance of permanent means systematically to follow for years a line of practical experiments. This college, as has been noted, has not been barren in these results, and the promise may be safely given that in the future it shall, if possible, improve on them.

The United States government established a post-office at the college in 1883, appointing the secretary of the faculty postmaster. In 1885 a United States signal

station became a fixture of the college, and in the same year the first of a series of fish-breeding ponds was established on the farm by the state fish commissioner.

HONORABLE JOSEPH R. WILLIAMS,

first president of the college, was a native of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and a lineal descendant of Edward Winslow, the Puritan. He graduated at Harvard college in 1831, studied law in Worcester, Massachusetts, with "Honest John Davis," and for a short time practiced his profession at New Bedford, prior to removing to Toledo, Ohio, in 1835. He was quite successful in speculating in city property; in 1836 built the American hotel in that city and resided there until his removal to Constantine, Michigan, in 1839. Here he erected a large mill, engaged in milling, and for several years was quite successful in that vocation.

He soon became prominent in the politics of the state, first as a Whig and then as a Republican; and took a leading part in the formation of the Republican party. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1850, was twice a candidate for United States senator in opposition to General Cass, and three times Whig candidate for congress in the district in which he lived. His talents and weight of character made him a leader, and he only failed of a high place in the National councils because of the strength of the Democratic party.

In 1853 he bought the *Toledo Blade* establishment, and from the first made it the advocate of Republican-Free-

soil principles. Although in failing health when he assumed the management of the *Blade*, yet he made it the leading power in shaping the then inchoate Republican party in northwestern Ohio. After three years of successful editorial work, he sold the establishment and returned to Michigan to accept the post which had been unanimously tendered him at the head of the State Agricultural college. He had been marked as the most suitable man to inaugurate the institution by his known learning, and the character and ability of his writings and addresses on agricultural subjects. His failing health, however, was an impediment in the way of his success, and after a year or more of laborious exertion, he was obliged to abandon his position and seek relief in Havana and Bermuda. Returning to Michigan in 1860, he was that fall elected a member of the state senate, which body chose him as its presiding officer, and by the resignation of the lieutenant-governor he became the acting lieutenant-governor of the state, which office he held at the time of his death, June 15, 1861.

For several years preceding his demise, his death had been regarded as likely to occur at any time, as during that period he had had several severe attacks of hemorrhage of the lungs. It was to repel this disease that he sought from President Lincoln the appointment of United States minister to Chili but a few months preceding his death. He died suddenly—it is supposed from an attack of hemorrhage. His widow—a most estimable and talented lady—and daughter, Mrs. William Kumler, reside in Toledo, Ohio.



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Edwin Willits

THEOPHILUS C. ABBOT, LL. D.,

was appointed to succeed Mr. Williams as president of the college in 1863. He was born at Vassalboro, Maine, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1826, and early removed with his parents to Augusta, in that state. He was educated at Waterville college, now Colby university, where he became an instructor and later a professor, and remained until he came to Michigan as professor of English literature in the State Agricultural college in 1858. Three years later he was made president of the institution. The degree of LL. D. was subsequently conferred upon him by the University of Michigan. By his scholarship, disposition and endowments, he was well qualified for the presidency of such an institution, and conducted its affairs successfully until July 1, 1885, a period of twenty-two years, when failing health compelled him to resign. He is still recognized as a member of the faculty, though he has been unable for two years past to do any mental or physical labor. He lives with his family in Lansing, having married, in 1860, Sarah H. Merrylees of Scotland. They have two children, a son and a daughter.

HONORABLE EDWIN WILLITS,

president of the college since August, 1885, was born at Otto, Cattaraugus county, New York, on April 24, 1830, and at the age of six years came with his parents to Michigan. Having lived in the state ever since, his life has been identified with its growth and progress, and he has attained rank among its leading and most highly respected citizens.

The early life of Mr. Willits was passed in Washtenaw county, where, after suitable preparation at the public schools, in connection with his private studies, he entered the State university, and graduated in the literary department in 1855. The university has since conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts. After finishing his course at the university, he entered upon the study of law in the office of ex-Senator Christiancy, at Monroe, and was admitted to the bar in 1857. He was for several years engaged successfully in the practice of his profession, and attained a position of prominence among the lawyers of his state. His tastes, however, and adaptability as an educator drew him into close relation to educational work, and in the schools of Adrian and Monroe he achieved a high reputation both as a teacher and administrator. From 1860 to 1873 he was a member of the state board of education, and was eminently fitted, both by his culture and experience, to take the prominent place accorded to him by his fellow-members. During the first year of his connection with the board he took exception to the policy of that body in the management of the agricultural college, and suggested the scheme which soon after resulted in the formation of the state board of agriculture and the reorganization of the college. To Mr. Willits, therefore, is chiefly due the beneficent change which brought permanent prosperity to the college. He foresaw and was among the first to advocate the necessity of the change; and it seems like a curious instance of that compensation which time sometimes brings about, that, after the lapse of more than quarter of a

century, he should be placed at the head of the institution whose true policy he did so much to shape in its early days. Long may he live to pursue that policy and to witness its best features in the years that are to come!

For many years Mr. Willits has been a leading member of the Republican party of his state, and has held many positions of prominence and responsibility. He was prosecuting attorney for Monroe county from 1860 to 1863, and postmaster of the city of Monroe from 1863 to 1866. He was also a member of the constitutional commission which was selected in 1873 to revise the state constitution. He was elected to the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh congresses from the second district, comprising the counties of Monroe, Washtenaw, Lenawee and Hillsdale, and it speaks well for his popularity at home that he received large majorities over one of the most popular men in the Democratic party and in a district which is now Democratic. President Willits is one of the most able and cultured men who has ever represented Michigan in congress, and the state may justly be proud of his services. His name has been prominently before the legislature in connection with the United States senatorship, but his devotion to the truly great work opened to him in the college and his distaste for political methods and machinery will probably be the means of saving him from all such temptations.

In 1882 he was made principal of the State Normal school at Ypsilanti, which position he filled with gratifying success. He resigned, greatly to the regret of the

officers and students of that institution, when called to enter his new field of labor as president of the State Agricultural college.

Mr. Willits is therefore no novice in educational affairs, but has had a wide experience extending through many years, and is, moreover, intimately and practically acquainted with the school systems and educational methods and institutions not only of the state but of the country at large.

It is no disadvantage to President Willits that he spent several years as editor of the *Monroe Commercial*, and thus added a knowledge of business to his political and educational experience.

The college under his management has taken a wonderful stride forward; all look upon it as having already entered a new era of prosperity. The president is young in spirit and manner and in excellent sympathy with young men. His government of the college is firm and paternal. His judgment is clear and sound; if ever biased at all it was on the side of kindness and leniency. Always trusting largely to the good sense and manliness of the students, his trust is rarely ever betrayed. His views of the higher aim of education at the college may be inferred from the following brief extract from his inaugural address, delivered on assuming the presidency of the college, August 19, 1885:

To-day has gone forth with the seal of our approval a class of young men who are to justify by their deeds the expense and labor here bestowed upon them. The impression may obtain from the fact that so much has been said about the material facilities here furnished for an education that but little care or stress is laid upon the general culture

of our students. Nothing is further from our intention. We cannot be oblivious to the fact that the man exists before the farmer or the mechanic, and that every system of education, to be harmonious and complete, must include that general culture that forms so important a function in life's work. We must not and we do not forget that pure English, sound logic, a wide range of historical reading, a thorough knowledge of the fundamental and business laws of the land, and well-defined views of political science and mental and moral philosophy are necessary elements in a practical education. For all these ample provision has been made. But above and beyond all we should remember that morality,

virtue and religion are the corner-stones of a true character, and that this institution should inculcate pure morals and the highest virtue, and should exemplify in the fullest sense our daily obligations to our Divine Benefactor. It is for us of the administration to assure the people of the state that by our example and by our precept we will be true to the higher duty, and that so far as in us lies we will preserve this institution free from the contamination of vice, and will send out from our halls the young men committed to our charge not only uninjured by their associations here, but better fitted to become good, loyal, Christian citizens.

W. W. CLAYTON.

HISTORY OF OHIO.

XVII.

THE BORDER WAR FULLY INAUGURATED IN THE OHIO COUNTRY.

IT WAS as early as the sixth of January, 1779, that Colonel George Morgan, at Fort Pitt, wrote to "the wise men of the Delaware nation and Shawanese—friends and allies of the United States of America"—informing them of his return to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia. He assured the Delawares that his government was strong in its friendship for them and that he condoled with them in the loss of their chief, Captain White Eyes. This Indian died on the return march of McIntosh from Fort Laurens, of the smallpox, and was buried at Pittsburgh.

Colonel Gibson, shut up, as he was, in Fort Laurens, depended largely upon the Moravian missionary, Zeisberger, for information as to the movements of the "enemy Indians" in the Ohio country; and this preacher did not fail to keep the American commander well informed as to

what was going on to the westward.* Although the Delawares were largely to be relied upon, there were, nevertheless, among them some who were treacherous; as a consequence, before the close of January, one of the Americans sent among them by Gibson was killed and another wounded.

However, the most serious stroke was received from savages other than Delawares—mostly Mingoes, seventeen in number, led by Simon Girty, who was now active in his exertions against his countrymen. The particulars were these: On the twenty-first of the month Captain John Clark of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, commanding an escort having supplies for Gibson, reached Fort Laurens. On his return, the captain, with a sergeant

* Zeisberger to Gibson, January 19, 1779—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

and fourteen men, when only about three miles distant from the fort, was attacked by the force just mentioned. The Americans suffered a loss of two killed, four wounded and one taken prisoner. The remainder, including Captain Clark, fought their way back to the fort. Letters written by the commander of the post and others, containing valuable information, were captured by Girty.*

It now seemed to General McIntosh a hazardous undertaking to send supplies to Fort Laurens from Fort Pitt, by way of the usual route of the Tuscarawas; so he dispatched Major Taylor down the Ohio with provisions to the mouth of the Muskingum, with orders that he should proceed up the last-named stream to the relief of Colonel Gibson and his garrison; but the attempt proved abortive. "I am now happily relieved," wrote McIntosh, from Fort Pitt, "by the arrival of Major Taylor here, who returned with one hundred men and two hundred kegs of flour. He was six days going up the Muskingum river about twenty miles; the waters were so high and the stream so rapid, and as he had about one hundred and thirty miles more to go, he judged it impossible to relieve Colonel Gibson in time, and therefore returned, having lost two of his men sent to flank him upon the shore, who were killed and scalped by some warriors coming down the Muskingum." †

* MS. copies of all these letters are before me. The originals form a part of the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum.

† McIntosh to Washington, March 12, 1779—MS. letter. See 'Washington-Irvine Correspondence,' p. 31, note 5.

From the vicinity of Fort Laurens, after his successful ambuscading the detachment of Captain Clark, the renegade Girty hastened with his prisoner and captured correspondence to Detroit, which place he reached early in February. He reported to Captain Lernoult that the Wyandots upon the Sandusky (and other Indians) were ready and willing to attack the fort commanded by Colonel Gibson, and that he had come for ammunition. He earnestly insisted on an English captain being sent with the savages "to see how they would behave."

By the middle of February provisions began to grow scarce with Gibson. He sent word to McIntosh, informing him of the state of affairs, concluding with these brave words: "You may depend on my defending the fort to the last extremity." On the twenty-third he sent out a wagoner from the fort for the horses belonging to the post, to draw wood; with the wagoner went a guard of eighteen men. The party was fired upon by lurking savages and all killed and scalped in sight of the fort, except two, who were made prisoners. The post was immediately invested after this ambuscade by nearly two hundred Indians, mostly Wyandots and Mingoes.

This movement against Fort Laurens, although purely a scheme of the Indians in its inception, was urged on, as we have seen, by Simon Girty; and Captain Henry Bird was sent forward from Detroit to Upper Sandusky with a few volunteers to promote the undertaking—Captain Lernoult, in order to encourage the enterprise, furnishing the savages with "a large supply of ammunition and clothing;

also presents to the chief warriors."* The plan of the Indians was to strike the fort and drive off or destroy the cattle, and if any of the main army under McIntosh attempted to go to the assistance of the garrison, to attack them in the night and distress them as much as possible.

By stratagem the Indians made their force so appear that eight hundred and forty-seven savages were counted from one of the bastions of the fort. The siege was continued until the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation, a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat constituting a daily ration. The assailants, however, were finally compelled to return home, as their supplies had also become exhausted. Before the enemy left, a soldier managed to steal through the lines, reaching General McIntosh on the third of March, with a message from Gibson informing him of his critical situation.

The Fort Pitt commander immediately made exertions to set on foot an expedition to march to the relief of Fort Laurens. In the event of not meeting the foe upon the Tuscarawas, the general planned, in his own mind, to march, before his return, against Sandusky and destroy the Wyandot towns; "and if we could not get any supplies there," are his words, "proceed farther." On the nineteenth of March, with about two hundred militia quickly raised from the counties west of the mountains, and over three hundred

Continental troops from Fort McIntosh and Fort Pitt, he left the former post upon his second march to the Tuscarawas, arriving there in four days, to find the siege of Fort Laurens abandoned and the savages gone. A salute, fired by the garrison upon the arrival of the relief in sight of the post, frightened the pack-horses, causing them to break loose, scattering the supplies in the woods and resulting in the loss of a number of the horses and of some of the provisions.

The garrison of Fort Laurens was found in a most deplorable condition by General McIntosh. For nearly a week Colonel Gibson and his men had subsisted on raw-hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had gone. The general called a council of war and laid before the officers assembled his plan for marching against the Wyandots and striking a blow at their towns upon the Sandusky. But the project was unanimously opposed, as the ground, so early in the season, was very wet, and there was a scanty supply of forage for their horses and less than two weeks' provisions for the whole army. So the matter was dropped. Leaving one hundred and six men, rank and file, of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Vernon, to garrison the post, and a supply of food for less than two months, the general returned with the residue of his force to Fort McIntosh, reaching there in six days.

"I wish," wrote Washington, "matters had been more prosperously conducted under the command of General McIntosh. This gentleman was, in a manner, a stran-

* Colonel Mason Bolton to General Haldimand, from Niagara, March 24, 1779—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection. This has been published (see 'Michigan Pioneer Collections,' Vol. IX., p. 427).

ger to me, but during the time of his residence at Valley Forge I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense, attention to duty and disposition to correct public abuses—qualifications much to be valued in a separate and distinct command." "To these considerations," continues the commander-in-chief, "were added (and not the least) his disinterested concern with respect to the disputes which had divided and distracted the inhabitants of that western world, and which would have rendered an officer, from either Pennsylvania or Virginia, improper, while none could be spared from any other state with so much convenience as McIntosh."*

It is here necessary to mention, because of the bearing it has upon affairs in the Ohio wilderness, the fact that, on the twenty-fourth of February, Hamilton, at Vincennes, capitulated to Colonel George Rogers Clark (who had marched with his brave soldiers from Kaskaskia to capture the lieutenant-governor, if possible), and the next day took possession of Fort Sackville, changing the name to Fort Patrick Henry.

General McIntosh having retired from the command of the Western department, the general government abandoned, for the time, offensive measures in the west. The forward movement from Fort Pitt resulting, as we have seen, in the erection of Fort Laurens, had diverted the attention of the savages, to some extent, from the border, and increased the anxiety at Detroit. The successor of McIntosh was Colonel Daniel Brodhead of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, who was

then first in rank after the departure of the general.

The condition of the fort upon the Tuscarawas early engaged the attention of Brodhead. Major Vernon, at that post, experienced, from the commencement of his charge, many hardships. Scarcely had the command been turned over to him when small parties of savages began to make their appearance in the vicinity. He soon had two men killed out of a party of forty who were outside the fort gathering fire-wood. Not only this, but provisions soon ran short. By the last of April Vernon wrote Brodhead that if he did not receive some supplies in a very short time, necessity would oblige him to begin on some cow-hides the Indians had left. By the middle of May the greater part of the garrison had to be sent in or they would have starved. Major Vernon held the post ten days longer with only twenty-five men, and these subsisted on herbs, salt and cow-hides, when provisions from Fort Pitt arrived, escorted by a party of regulars. It was high time that relief came, as the few men of the garrison were so reduced by hunger as to be scarcely able to stand on their feet. Past the middle of June the post received an accession of seventy-five men, well supplied with provisions, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. Vernon returned to Fort Pitt, but his men were left at Fort McIntosh.

The Ohio Indians were very troublesome to the people of southwestern Pennsylvania during the first half of the year 1779. As early as the twenty-sixth of February, on the main road east of Pittsburgh, only about twenty miles away eighteen persons—men, women and chil-

* Washington to —, March 20, 1779, in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. III., p. 132.

dren—were either killed or taken prisoners; but it is not certain that all these were victims of raids, the participants in which were warriors from the westward; it is more than probable that some of the enemy were Senecas from the northward.

To assist in protecting the exposed settlements in the trans-Alleghany country, Colonel Moses Rawlings' corps of three companies from Fort Frederick, Maryland, were sent over the mountains; besides these, Pennsylvania determined to raise five companies of rangers for service to the westward; militia, also, were ordered "to march with all possible expedition" from the eastward "for the immediate protection of the counties of Bedford and Westmoreland." Before the middle of summer, Fort Randolph, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, was evacuated, but a fort named "Armstrong" was erected at Kittanning, the present site of the town of that name, the county-seat of Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, where one hundred and twenty Continental soldiers were stationed, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard. Besides the garrison at Fort Pitt, there were one hundred and twenty-three men, rank and file, at Fort McIntosh; twenty-eight at Holiday's Cove; the same number at Wheeling; and the garrison in Fort Laurens of seventy-five men, already mentioned. Such was the regular force on the frontier from Kittanning down the Alleghany and Ohio to Wheeling. To these must be added the militia called out on short tours of duty to patrol the woods between certain points where danger was the most imminent.

While the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia were being strengthened, the enemy at Detroit were not idle. Not only was a new fort in process of erection at that place, but two hundred men from Niagara, mostly regulars, reached there. Besides this, two armed vessels were kept on Lake Erie to watch for the movement of any Americans to the westward, one sailing up and down between what is now Erie, Pennsylvania, and the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, the site of the present city of Cleveland; the other stationed at the mouth of the Maumee river, below what is now the city of Toledo, Ohio.

Emigration, notwithstanding the inroads of the savages, continued on the increase to what was still Kentucky county, Virginia, during the first half of 1779. A stockade, "on the main land," at the Falls of the Ohio (afterwards Louisville) was completed in the spring, but the town had not yet been given the name by which the city is now known. Now, the increase of population in this part of Virginia made it necessary for Colonel John Bowman, the lieutenant of the county, to add to his endeavors in a corresponding ratio to protect the incoming settlers. He came to the conclusion, finally, that an aggressive movement must be made against the Shawanese on the north side of the Ohio. These Indians on the waters of the Miami rivers must be attacked in their own villages, although, as yet, there had been no authorized expedition from that county into the enemy's country. Finally, Bowman resolved to move against the village of Chillicothe, located on the waters of the Little Miami, about three miles north of the present site of Xenia, in Greene

county, Ohio. He accordingly notified the Kentucky people of his determination, and a volunteer force was soon raised for the undertaking.

Five companies finally assembled at the mouth of the Licking. Once across the Ohio, and the little army was formed into three divisions, numbering, in all, two hundred and sixty-two men. It was now the thirtieth of May, and the point aimed at was reached and the village set on fire. But the colonel's success was only partial. After killing several savages and securing a considerable amount of plunder, the expedition began its return march, but was attacked by the Shawanese, who, however, were repulsed and suffered a loss of five killed and six wounded.* This enterprise had the effect to quiet the alarm upon the border, especially in the Kentucky settlements for a brief period.

The Senecas and Monseys, from their towns upon the upper waters of the Alleghany, were now making inroads across the northern line of defence in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. Brodhead, from Fort Pitt, marched against these savages with a force of six hundred and five men, rank and file, together with a number of Delaware Indians; but previous to this, Fort Laurens was evacuated that the garrison might be added to the colonel's force. The expedition proved highly successful. A number of Indian towns was burned, many acres of corn laid waste and a valuable booty secured. Brodhead received the thanks of Washington and congress for his undertaking, which was carried forward in

* Bird to Lernoult, June 9, 1779—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

August and September to the prosperous termination just mentioned.

Upon the return of Brodhead from his successful expedition against the Senecas, on the headwaters of the Alleghany, he had a conference with some chiefs from the Ohio wilderness. The representatives of the Wyandots and of one tribe (or clan) of the Shawanese promised to do everything in their power to preserve peace between their respective nations and the United States. The Fort Pitt commandant assured them they should have peace, provided they took as many scalps from the enemy as they had done from the Americans, and provided further, that on every occasion when called upon, they should join the latter; "which," wrote Brodhead, "they have engaged to do," but which, in reality, they had no intentions of doing. Their promises, however, had some weight with the American commander. As to the Delaware chiefs present, their assurances were sincere as well as encouraging, for thirty warriors were present of that nation ready and willing to go to war, but Brodhead had "nothing to encourage them with;" and, without the means of paying them, he could not "send them out." Before the close of the year, however, because the general government could in no way encourage them except by promises, there was manifested a disposition on part of some of the chiefs to waver in their attachment.

There was a considerable influx of settlers to the Kentucky country in the latter half of 1779, and the savages renewed their inroads from their towns north of the Ohio with increasing ferocity. "I am informed," wrote Colonel Brodhead to Washington,

from Fort Pitt, on the ninth of October, "the western Mingoes, the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky and the Shawanese have lately been very hostile against the new settlements on Kentucky and at the Falls of the Ohio." The information received by the Fort Pitt commander was substantially correct, and the crowning effort of the Ohio Indians for the year was in Kentucky (still only a county of Virginia). The particulars were these:

In the early part of the previous year the Virginia government selected Colonel David Rogers to go to New Orleans, with a small company, to obtain supplies from the Spaniards for the use of the troops of that state. The needed stores were finally obtained at St. Louis, and Rogers commenced his return up the Ohio, stopping at the Falls in September, 1779, where he was reinforced. Early in October, with about seventy men, in two large boats, he continued up the river to a point about three miles below the mouth of the Little Miami river, when, on the fifth, he was overpowered on the Kentucky side of the Ohio by a superior force to his own, consisting of Shawanese, Wyandots, Delawares and Mingoes, under the general direction of Simon Girty and his brother George, together with Matthew Elliott. Forty of the Americans (including Rogers) were killed and five taken prisoners. Forty bales of dry goods, a quantity of rum and fuses, together with "a chest of hard specie," fell into the hands of the enemy.

As a defence against savage aggressions during the coming winter, Colonel Brodhead arranged his force of Continental troops and independent companies in such

positions as, in his judgment, would best protect the borderers. What was left of Rawlings' corps, together with the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment and the Ninth Virginia, were still in the Western department. Fort Armstrong, at Kittanning, and Fort Crawford, some distance below on the Alleghany, were evacuated. The principal points garrisoned were Wheeling, Holiday's Cove, Fort McIntosh, Fort Pitt, Fort Hand, Fort Wallace and Hannastown. During most of the year Brodhead had been in hopes of being able to make, by aid of Washington, an expedition against Detroit; but the commander-in-chief could give him no particular encouragement, and he was obliged to abandon, for the time, all thoughts of an aggressive movement towards that post.

Although the spring of 1780 opened hopefully, so far as the friendship of the Coshocton Delawares was concerned, yet, as to the "enemy Indians," there were, even before the close of winter, the most gloomy forebodings all along the frontiers of southwestern Pennsylvania and northwestern Virginia; for, as early as the middle of March, they began their depredations, which was sooner than had been expected, considering the severity of the weather. At a sugar camp on Raccoon creek, a stream flowing into the Ohio, on the left, thirty-three miles by the course of the river below Pittsburgh, five men were killed and three girls and three boys taken prisoners.

"We have heard nothing all the whole winter," wrote Heckewelder from the banks of the Muskingum, on the thirtieth of the month just mentioned, "what the enemy have been doing; the snow being

so deep and the weather so continually cold have, I suppose, prevented this; but this day I am informed that three young fellows—two Delawares and one Wyandot—have turned back from a body of warriors consisting of twenty-six men. They gave information that five or six companies of warriors have gone out—two parties of Wyandots towards Beaver creek and the others down the river." It hardly need be mentioned that this was written by the Moravian before he became imbued with Tory sentiments—when he looked upon all enemies to America as his enemies.

About the time of the happening of the events just narrated, three boats, in descending the Ohio, were attacked "by some twenty-five Indians of mixed tribes," a few miles below Captina creek, which empties into the Ohio on the right, twenty-one miles below Wheeling, and one of them captured. In the boats were some families on their way to Kentucky. Several men and a small child were killed. Twenty-one persons—men, women and children—were made prisoners. Among them was Catharine Malott, a girl in her teens, who subsequently became the wife of Simon Girty. "No doubt this success," wrote Zeisberger from the Tuscarawas, "will encourage the savages to do more mischief."

Colonel Brodhead now called together the county lieutenants of the trans-Alleghany counties to consult upon the alarming state of affairs. It was determined to strike, if possible, the Shawanese, but his purpose, in the end, had to be abandoned. The Indians, meanwhile, had become exceedingly troublesome—over forty men,

women and children had fallen victims to their ferocity in the country south and southwest of Fort Pitt. The accounts received by the Fort Pitt commandant relative to the British garrison at Detroit differed widely, some making it to consist of two hundred men, some three hundred and others upward of four hundred. This determined him, about the last of May, to send Captain Samuel Brady, with five white men and two Delaware Indians, to Sandusky to endeavor to take a British prisoner. On the thirtieth of June Brady returned without having accomplished the object of his undertaking. However, he had a most exciting time of it. He captured two young squaws within two miles of the principal Wyandot village, one of whom effected her escape after six days' march by Brady homeward. The other he succeeded in bringing as far as the waters of the Beaver river, where he met seven warriors who had taken a woman and child from Chartiers creek (in Westmoreland county, as claimed by Pennsylvania). Brady's party fired at the warriors, killing their captain. They also rescued the white woman, but their own prisoner made her escape.

The first half of the year 1780 saw an increased emigration to Kentucky. Three hundred large family boats arrived during the spring at the Falls, where Louisville had just been established. There was also a considerable influx by the "wilderness road." Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, who was now in command at Detroit, had advices that the "rebels" had "quite surrounded the Indian hunting ground of Kentucky," and had built "small forts at two days' journey from

each other."* Because of this, he would organize an expedition against them. But, in order to fully understand the movements which followed, it is necessary to inquire as to the incidents connected with George Rogers Clark's occupation of Illinois and Wabash country since the capture by him of Hamilton, in February of the previous year, already noted.

The lieutenant-governor of Detroit was sent, together with his officers and a number of his men, prisoners to Virginia by Clark, who then turned his attention to reaping, as much as possible, the full rewards of his victory. Six boats returned to Kaskaskia with prisoners, while a small garrison occupied Fort Patrick Henry, in Vincennes. Civil matters were also looked after; and then, on the twentieth of March, 1779, Clark "set out for Kaskaskia by water, with a guard of eighty men."

Before the capture of Hamilton, and while in the Illinois towns, Clark had made peace with a number of Indian nations. "Those Indians," he wrote, "who are active against us are the Six Nations [Senecas, or Mingoes, as they were usually called], part of the Shawanese, the Miamies, and about half of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Iowas and Pottawattamies, bordering on the lakes. Those nations who have treated with me have since behaved very well; they are the Piankeshaws, Kikapoos, Weatanons [Weas] of the Wabash river; the Kaskaskias, Peorians, Mitchigamis, Sacs and Foxes, Iowas, Illinois and Pottawattamies of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers."

* De Peyster to General Haldimand, March 8, 1780—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

"Part of the Chippewas," he added, "have also treated and are peaceable. I continually keep agents among them to watch their motions and keep them peaceably inclined. Many of the Cherokees and Chickasaws are, I fear, ill disposed."

Clark having succeeded so well in the Illinois towns and upon the Wabash, longed to be placed in condition as to men and supplies to march against Detroit. There can be no peace, he declared, expected from many [Indian] nations while the English have possession of that post. It was, indeed, a part of his original plan to capture first the Illinois and then move against Detroit; at least, such was his design as formulated in his own mind from the start. He was now encouraged by the promise of reinforcements from the east; and he resolved to rendezvous at Vincennes, moving thence northward to the objective point just mentioned. But the expected reinforcements did not come; and although marching again to Vincennes, in the last days of June, he was constrained, finally, to wholly abandon the enterprise. It was then resolved by him to spend a few months at the Falls of the Ohio, hoping upon his arrival there to be able to raise a sufficient force to punish the Shawanese upon the Miami rivers and the Scioto, in a more signal manner than had been done by Colonel Bowman. He reached the Falls on the twentieth of August, issuing his orders thereafter, from "Headquarters" as "Colonel of the Illinois Battalion and Commander-in-chief of the Virginia Forces in the Western Department." His command, then, at the Falls of the Ohio,

and Colonel Brodhead's at Fort Pitt, were the two principal ones west of the Alleghanies. For the residue of the year Clark remained at "Headquarters," disappointed in attempting anything against the Ohio Indians by reason of the low stage of water in the Ohio river. From this time forward to the close of the war, the chief points for concentrating troops and supplies for the Americans in the west were at Pittsburgh and Louisville; for the British and their Indian allies, the principal places were Detroit and Michilimackinac. At the post last named Patrick Sinclair was now in command as lieutenant-governor.

In the spring of 1780 Clark, at the request of the governor of Virginia, established a post on the east bank of the Mississippi river a short distance below the mouth of the Ohio, to which was given the name of Fort Jefferson. It was while he was engaged in this enterprise that De Peyster, at Detroit, resolved upon an invasion of the Kentucky country as already hinted at, particulars of which undertaking will now be related.

A part of the garrison at Detroit, with some small ordnance, all the Indian officers at that post and as many volunteers as could be obtained, with all the Indians that could be got together both at the post and on the march, were to constitute the "army which was to attack some of the forts which surrounded "the Indian hunting-ground in Kentucky." "I have had the Wabash Indians here by invitation," wrote De Peyster from Detroit; "they have promised to keep Clark at the Falls. About sixty of the Michilimackinac Indians have been here

upon a visit; some of them engaged to join the Wabash Indians." But it will be remembered that Colonel Clark was not at Louisville, as De Peyster supposed.

Having thus fully made up his mind to undertake the reduction of the Kentucky forts, De Peyster exerted himself to the utmost in forwarding the movement. "A large corps of agents and interpreters was [soon] at work among the Indians, arousing their cupidity, exciting their passions, embittering their zeal and enlisting their energies. They were largely and freely furnished with those articles which increased their comfort, attracted their fancy, or added to their murderous efficiency." The whole force was put under the command of Captain Henry Bird, who left Detroit on the twelfth of April, with a detachment of about one hundred and fifty whites and one hundred Lake Indians, having every assurance that his little army would be largely increased by savage allies in the Ohio region.* It is because of the last-mentioned fact that Ohio history is incomplete without a recital therein of the events connected with this notable expedition. With Captain Bird went "Mr. Elliott" and "the three Girtys." The captain took with him two small cannon, these constituting the "ordnance" which De Peyster had previously suggested he should send.

Captain Bird, after reaching the Maumee river, ascended it to its head—the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. He then moved up the St.

* De Peyster to Sinclair, May 18, 1780—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection. This has been published in 'Michigan Pioneer Collections,' Vol. IX., p. 582, where the words, "one thousand" should read, without doubt, "one hundred."

Mary's to the portage. "By letters just received from Captain Bird," wrote De Peyster to General Haldimand, on the seventeenth of May, "he expected to pass the carrying-place by Tuesday last, after which he has down the stream [the Great Miami] all the way to the Ohio." On the twenty-first Bird wrote from "Monsieur Lorimer's" that everything was six leagues below the portage, where the *pirouges* were being made. He also wrote that Clark, at the Falls, was advertised of his coming, though ignorant of his force and of his having artillery. But, of course, he was in error as to the whereabouts of the American commander.

Near the confluence of Loramie's creek with the Great Miami, the promised reinforcement of Ohio savages met Bird. It consisted of three hundred Indians under the general direction of Captain Alexander McKee. This number was soon augmented by about two hundred more. These allies were largely Shawanese—the Wyandots staying at home preparatory to a march eastward. Now, the plan of Bird (or, as may be said, of DePeyster) was, first to attack the Louisville fort, and he had explained this to the savages; but the Indian chiefs decided against this policy (luckily, perhaps, for the Americans, as, with his two cannon, the captain might have made it "warm" for that stockade, especially as Clark was not there), and determined to march against the forts on "Licking creek."* In this decision, Bird was compelled to acquiesce, greatly to his mortification; for

he had now learned of the absence of Clark from the Falls.†

Bird's force moved up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami to the mouth of Licking, opposite the site of the present city of Cincinnati, thence up the stream last named to its forks, where Falmouth, Pendleton county, Kentucky, is now situated. The captain then proceeded by land to Ruddle's station, situated on the north side of South Licking, about a mile below the mouth of what is known as Townsend creek, and a mile and a quarter above what is now Lair's station, on the Kentucky Central railroad. It was not long before the station assailed capitulated. Two discharges of one of the cannon satisfied the garrison of the hopelessness of any defence; so Isaac Ruddle surrendered, getting terms to the effect that the lives of those within the stockade should be saved and themselves taken to Detroit. But Captain Bird was powerless to restrain the savages. "They rushed in," are his words, "tore the poor children from their mothers' breasts, killed and wounded many."‡

Martin's station was next assailed. It was situated about five miles away (about three miles below the present town of Paris, in Bourbon county). The result was the same as at Ruddle's station, but the prisoners taken numbered less than at the last-named post. It was now seen by Bird that he could not progress any farther in his work of capturing the Ken-

*Bird to De Peyster, June 11, 1780—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

† McKee to same, July 8, 1780—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

‡ Bird to De Peyster, July 1, 1780—MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

tucky forts, but must at once begin his homeward march. He had exhausted his supply of provisions, and the prisoners were in danger of starving; besides, heavy rains continued, which, the captain declared, "rotted" his "people's feet." The prisoners, notwithstanding that many had been killed, were numerous, amounting to between three and four hundred.

Captain Bird, on his march homeward, was compelled to leave his cannon on the headwaters of the Great Miami. He reached Detroit on the fourth of August, the Indians in the Ohio country having, meanwhile, returned to their homes. The expedition, so far as the capture of the two stations was concerned, was looked upon by De Peyster as a success, of course; but, in so far as its principal object was concerned—the breaking up of the Kentucky settlements and the defeating of Colonel Clark—it was regarded by him (as it really was) a signal failure.

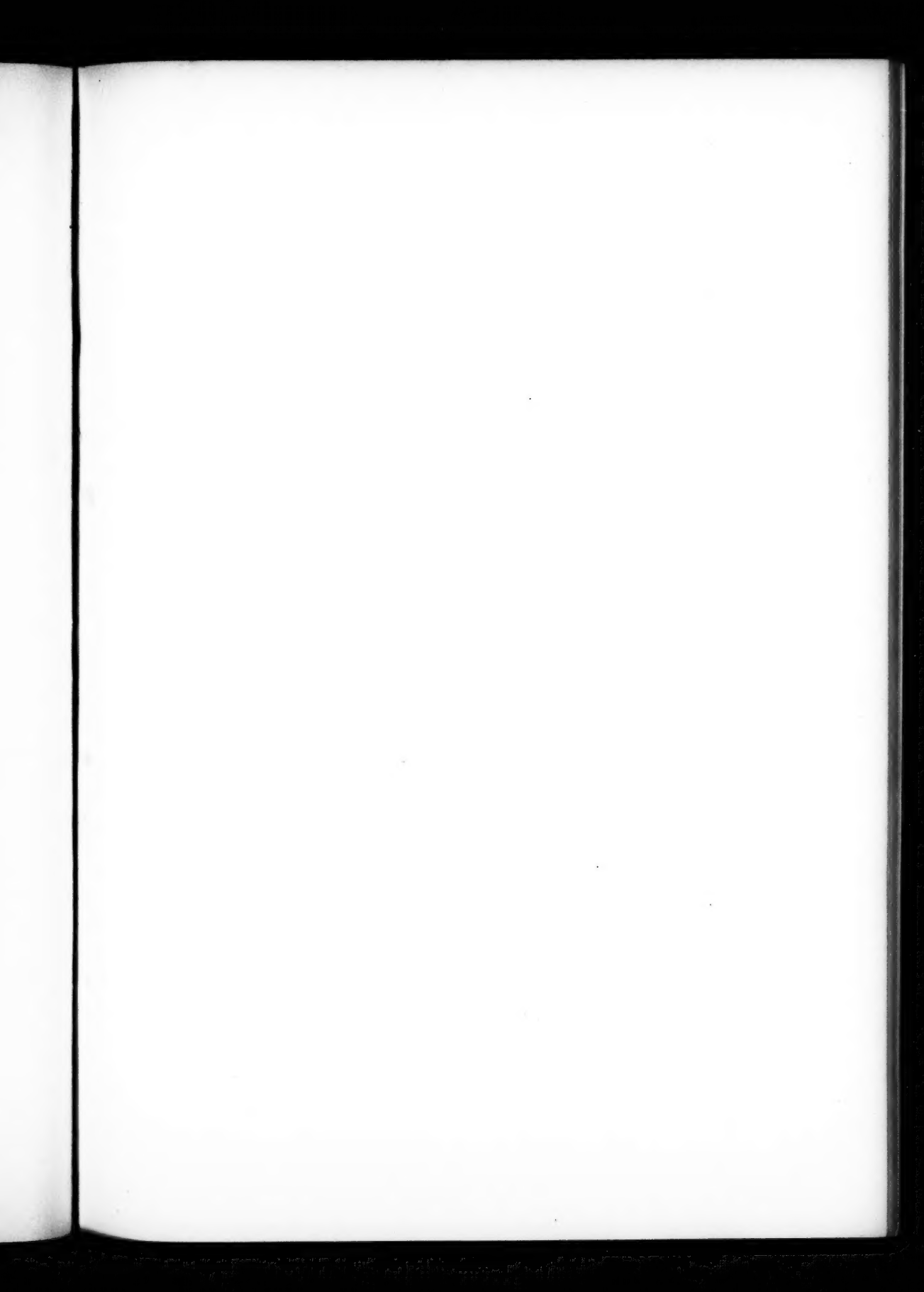
Bird's expedition was intended to supplement one which moved down the Mississippi from what is now the Wisconsin and Upper Michigan country against the Illinois towns and St. Louis. The last-mentioned place was occupied by Spanish soldiers and had a Spanish governor; but that did not prevent it being an object of attack by the British, as Spain was now at war with Great Britain. The expedition just spoken of was organized by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair at Michilimackinac, and consisted largely of savages. Clark, at Fort Jefferson, was advised of the movement and hastened up the river to succor Cahokia and assist the Spaniards of St. Louis. He reached the former place in time, and the success of the

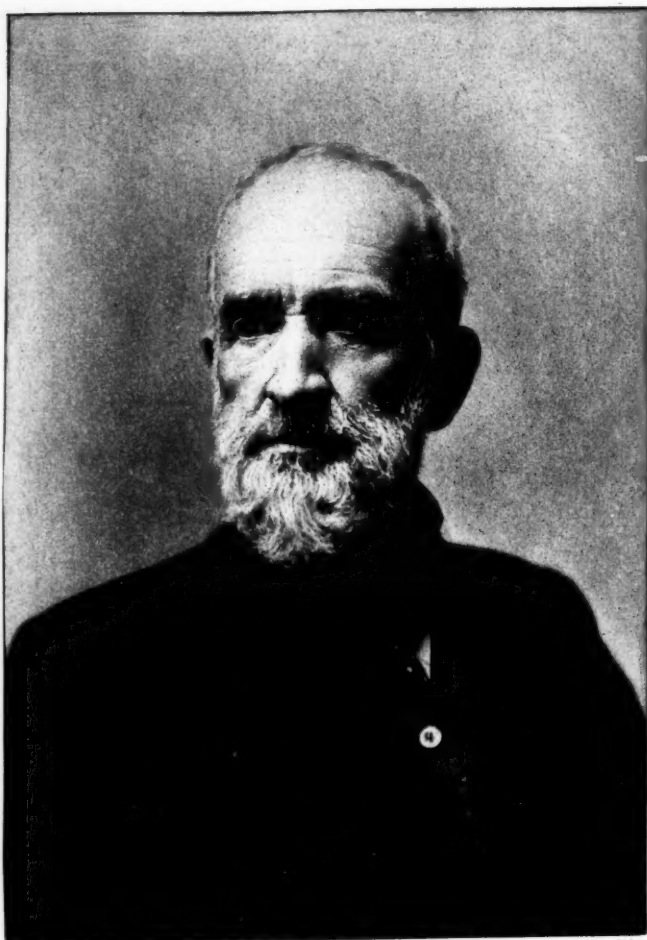
enemy did not amount to anything very serious. Just then, Clark heard of Bird's movement against Kentucky, and he hastened back to the fort he had left, took what force could be spared* and made all possible progress to Louisville, arriving only to hear of the success of the enemy against the two posts on Licking. He immediately resolved to retaliate by marching against the Shawanese on the waters of the Little Miami and the Mad river.

Quickly the settlers rallied at the command of Clark, and nearly a thousand men were soon moving to the point agreed upon for the rendezvous, which was the site of what is now the city of Cincinnati. The army was composed not alone of volunteers—some regulars from Louisville went with them. Before the march began, Clark caused two block-houses to be put up, in which to store provisions and where the wounded men could be cared for. These were the first buildings erected upon the site of Ohio's chief city; but Cincinnati does not date its settlement from the time of their being built.

The army moved forward on the second of August. One field piece—a six pounder—was taken along. Chillicothe was reached on the sixth. This was the Shawanese village previously attacked by Colonel Bowman. It was found in flames and its inhabitants gone. The march was then resumed for Piqua, another Shawanese town. It was located on the north side of Mad river, in what

* The tradition that only two soldiers accompanied him from Fort Jefferson back to Louisville is now known to be wholly erroneous.





Las Craig

is now Clark county, Ohio, about five miles west of the present city of Springfield. Early in the afternoon of the eighth, the village was attacked. There was here a considerable number of savages. They resolved almost against hope to contest, by force of arms, the further progress of the Americans; however, nearly all soon fled, leaving less than one hundred to act on the defensive. These were, after a stubborn resistance, driven from the village with a loss of a num-

ber of scalps. The Americans had fifteen killed and one taken prisoner. The next day all the buildings of the town were set on fire and all of the corn-fields totally destroyed, "to the great distress of the Indians." Clark made a quick march back to the Ohio, and, from the mouth of the Licking, the army dispersed—the commander, with his regulars, returning at once to Louisville.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[To be continued.]

ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI.

III.

GENERAL JAMES CRAIG.

PROMINENT among the citizens of St. Joseph, Missouri, and closely associated with much of the history of the historic city, is General James Craig, yet a hale and hearty gentleman of a few more months than seventy years, whom his legion of friends would heartily wish may live so long as they do, at least.

In 1817, on the twenty-eighth day of February, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, James Craig was born. His people moved to Ohio when he was three years old, and settled near Mansfield, Richland county. Here and at Millersburg, in Holmes county, but mostly in the last-named place, he went to school, but when only eight years of age was placed in the employment of Seth Hunt,

a general dealer in goods at Millersburg and neighboring villages. In this employment, and in all the places where Seth Hunt's mercantile interests existed, Craig remained until he was twenty-one. After that he became second clerk of a steamboat—what is known as "mud clerk," because it is such an official's duty to go ashore, in all kinds of weather, to look after freight. This boat plied on the Ohio, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers from Cincinnati to Nashville, and thence to St. Louis and return, and the vessel was labeled the *Gallatin*. During spare hours on board the *Gallatin* Mr. Craig read law books, having studied the same a great deal while in the employ of Seth Hunt.

The supreme court of Ohio was, at the time he applied for admission to the bar, at Fort Defiance, and it was necessary for Ohio students of law to go to that supreme court for admission. It was in 1839 that Mr. Craig set out one day, with four other candidates for the legal profession, from Perrysburg, on horseback, for the two days' ride to Fort Defiance, which place of defence against the Indians and British, "mad" Anthony Wayne had caused to be erected in the days when it was sorely needed. On this ride Mr. Craig fell in with Judge Wood, who was afterwards governor of Ohio, and who was then presiding justice of the court which was to receive or reject Mr. Craig and his fellow-students as practitioners in tribunals of law. On the ride young Craig, whom one can easily understand had then, as now, the faculty of making himself exceedingly pleasant company, spared no pains to impress himself as favorably as possible upon the dignified judge. Upon arrival at Fort Defiance the necessary court committee for the examination of the students was organized, and the entire five were shortly endowed with the proper license as lawyers.

Mr. Craig immediately went to the practice at New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas county, and was married while living there to Miss Helen Pfouts of Wayne county, now living, and at present on a trip through Europe. The marriage occurred in 1843, and soon afterwards the couple moved to Missouri, and Mr. Craig opened a law office in Oregon, Holt county. In 1846 he was elected to the legislature of Missouri, and to-day of the members of that assembly, house and senate, of whom

there were about one hundred and fifty, General Craig to-day knows of only about six living. Among those are Honorable James O. Broadhead, who is still in active law practice in St. Louis, and General William F. Switzler, commissioner of the bureau of agriculture at Washington.

During the war with Mexico, Mr. Craig raised a company to go with the invading army, and was commissioned captain. Instead, however, of being sent to Mexico, Captain Craig and his company were attached to Colonel Powell's regiment, and sent to the plains as scouts and Indian fighters among the Pawnees, Arrapahoes, Sioux, etc., and the regiment was kept at this duty until some months after the war. In this service, guarding the Santa Fe trail, preventing incursions of the Indians upon the settlers and emigrants, restoring captured property and general duty of that character, occupied the time until late in 1848, when the regiment was mustered out of the army at Fort Leavenworth.

In the following spring, that of 1849, Captain Craig was one among the sixty thousand who during that year crossed the plains and mountains to California, and thus became one of the argonauts known to history as "forty-niners." In California, within a year, he made a few thousand dollars, and obtained his financial start in life.

In the summer of 1850 Captain Craig returned to the east, coming *via* Panama and New Orleans, and settled in St. Joseph, Missouri, where he has been a citizen ever since, his family having remained in Missouri during the California trip.

Shortly after his return to St. Joseph, Captain Craig was elected prosecuting

attorney for his judicial circuit, and at that time the criminal docket was the heaviest of that of any court in the United States, a fact which was caused by the thousands of adventurers who were then passing through the city, which was then the starting-point and out-fitting post for California in 1851 and 1852.

In 1856 Attorney Craig was elected to congress and was reëlected in 1858, and served altogether in the lower house four years. In 1861 President Lincoln commissioned Mr. Craig brigadier-general and gave him command of a western district against the hostile Indians, which included the troops at Forts Kearney, Laramie and Bridger and at Denver and Salt Lake cities.

Late in 1863 General Craig made application to be relieved of his western command and to be sent to the front at the south. Failing in this, he resigned his commission as brigadier in the United States army and accepted a commission bearing the same rank from the governor of Missouri, and was engaged during the remainder of the war in the command of troops who were hunting and fighting guerrillas in the state suggested. Among the bands of "partisan rangers," as they politely called themselves, and to whom General Craig and his command gave special attention, were those of the notorious Quantrell and Bill Anderson. It was through a strategic movement and the energy of General Craig that Bill Anderson was finally slain and his band disorganized. Coincidentally it may be observed that Quantrell was from the same county in Ohio in which General Craig had resided previous to his removal west.

From 1866 to 1869 inclusive, General Craig was United States internal revenue collector of the St. Joseph district, but resigned that office and recommended his successor, Colonel A. N. Schuster, who was appointed by President Grant.

From the time General Craig left congress he was for fifteen years connected with the construction and conduct of western railroads. He was for some years president of the Hannibal & St. Joseph, the pioneer railroad west of the Mississippi. He built the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs railroad and was its first president. He was also president of the St. Joseph & Denver, now the Grand Island branch of the Union Pacific, and made the arrangement among the business men of St. Joseph for the construction of the first ten miles of that road, thus to secure a land grant for it from the state of Kansas.

To the marriage of General Craig and his estimable wife were born six children, four boys and two girls. One son, James Craig, jr., is a prominent lawyer of St. Joseph, but is at present with his mother on a tour of Europe. Benjamin H. Craig, another son, graduated in the naval school at Annapolis, and while on duty aboard his vessel off Chili and Peru, in 1883, he contracted consumption, and while in company with his mother *en route* to Algiers, hoping to benefit his health, he died in southern France on the shores of the Mediterranean sea. Louis A. Craig, another son, graduated at the West Point Military academy and is now an officer in the Sixth United States cavalry. The other son, who is dead, was named Willard, and died in boyhood. Of the daughters,

Clara C. is the wife of Major S. A. Garth of St. Joseph, and Ida is the wife of Major Wilcox of the Eighth United States cavalry.

General Craig is yet in sterling health, fond of billiards and the congenialities of his club, the "Benton" of St. Joseph, one of the wealthiest social organizations in the world and of which he was one of the organizers and most effective promoters. He is a whole-souled, out-spoken, and yet modest gentleman "of the old school," who, when approached by this writer for facts for this sketch, said, "When you write of me be plain about it, and sparing of flowery diction and ornamental flattery."

Yet General Craig has been, and is yet, a brilliant and forcible orator, whose services have been in demand from Faneuil Hall to the Rocky mountains in every National political campaign since his pub-

lic life began, and in state affairs he has ever been in request. When Missouri or his immediate section of the state has had need of influential work before National authorities, one of the first names to occur to the people for such work has been that of General Craig. He has always been possessed of a remarkable capacity for executive work, and his life has been a stirring and active and useful one. It has permeated the history of the Republic, and especially the far west, during his day and generation. The future historian will find ample use for his name, which is yet and always will be honored among those who know him, and who know of that strong and marked existence which is now enjoying its "*dolce far niente*."

WILL. L. VISSCHER.

THE TERRITORIAL BENCH OF MINNESOTA.

IV.

CHARLES EDWIN VANDERBURGH.

THE position of prominence held for so many years by this well-known and high-minded jurist, and the influence for good he has long wielded in a community with which his lot was so long ago cast, have not been the results of accident or some happy chance, but are the legitimate rewards of useful labor, innate integrity and an ability which was one of the legacies he received from an honorable and patriotic ancestry. The family into which he directly traces his ancestral line came from Amsterdam, Holland, and settled in Dutchess county, New York, more than a generation before the old French war. One member of that family, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a soldier of the patriot army in the War of the Revolution, and at its close removed to Saratoga county, New York, where a son was born to him in 1800. That son, Stephen Vanderburgh, was wedded to Maria Calkins, and to them, on December 2, 1829, at Clifton Park, Saratoga county, New York, was born the subject of this sketch. In 1836, when the boy was but seven years of age, the family removed to Marcellus, Onondaga county, in the same state.

The early days of the youth were passed much after the fashion of the average American boy in those days. He worked a portion of the time upon his

father's farm, attending the district school in winter, until he was seventeen years of age, when he commenced school teaching, in which he was engaged during the two succeeding winters. Meanwhile, he pursued his studies industriously at home, for the purpose of fitting himself for college. From 1846 to 1849 a portion of his time was spent at Cortland academy, at Homer, New York, in still further preparation. In the fall of the year last named he entered the sophomore class of Yale, from which college he graduated in 1852.

In the year following, Mr. Vanderburgh became principal of Oxford academy, at Oxford, New York. In the same year, having long since determined to devote himself to the profession of the law, he commenced study in the office of Henry R. Mygatt, esq., one of the foremost lawyers of the state. He was admitted to the bar in January, 1855, but remained in the office of Mr. Mygatt until the following autumn, when he went to Chicago, where he spent the winter. His impressions of the west were such, and he discerned so clearly that a great and immediate season of growth and prosperity was before it, that he was confirmed in his already formed purpose to make some portion of it his permanent home and field of life labor. In April, 1856, he went to Min-

nesota in quest of a suitable location, and unhesitatingly decided in its favor, in preference to any place he had visited. He settled in Minneapolis, and during the first three weeks of his residence there was employed in the office of the register of deeds, for which labor he was paid forty dollars, which was the first money he ever earned in the state, and which came very acceptable at that time. At the conclusion of that period of time he formed a partnership with Judge Cornell, and entered upon the practice of the profession in which he has won such fame and honor. A large and successful business rewarded the labors of the new firm, both in the courts and before the United States land office. This firm continued in existence until the fall of 1859. In that year the qualities and abilities of Mr. Vanderburgh had become so well known that he was elected to the office of district judge. His district at that time extended north and northwest of Fort Snelling to the boundary of the state; out of it several districts have since been apportioned.

Judge Vanderburgh continued upon the bench of the district court until November, 1881, when he was elevated to the high office of associate justice of the state supreme court, which position he still retains. The simple fact of his being continued on the bench for so long a period is a high compliment to his judicial qualifications, and renders comment superfluous. The leading members of the Minnesota bar speak in the highest terms of his ability and good judgment, especially in cases of equity, and of the happy faculty with

which he commands such language in his decisions as render them clear, concise and easily understood. Many of his legal opinions on important questions have been republished in leading law journals of the country. In politics, Judge Vanderburgh is a Republican, and was elected as such, but he takes no active part in politics and pays little attention thereto.

Judge Vanderburgh was married in Oxford, New York, on September 2, 1857, to Julia Mygatt, the daughter of William and Caroline Mygatt. She died on April 23, 1863, leaving two children, a son, William Henry, born in 1858, and Julia M., born in 1861. The latter was accidentally drowned at Minneapolis, in the fall of 1871, while the judge was absent at court. The son, a graduate from Princeton college, is a member of the Minneapolis bar. On April 15, 1873, Judge Vanderburgh was again married, to Miss Anna Culbert, daughter of the late John Culbert of Fulton county, New York. They have one child, a daughter, born in 1874.

Judge Vanderburgh has long been recognized as one of the leading church and Sunday-school workers of the city. He has been a member of the Presbyterian church since 1862, is an elder in that church, and has been for many years a superintendent and teacher in the Sabbath-school, a work near to his heart, and in which he is at present very active and deeply interested. In many other ways has he made himself useful to the community with which he has been so long identified.

FORT SNELLING, MINNESOTA, WHILE IN COMMAND OF COLONEL
JOSIAH SNELLING, FIFTH INFANTRY.

I.

BEFORE the organization of the territory of Minnesota in 1849, Fort Snelling was the sole nucleus of civilization in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi, beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin river. Here every scientific explorer, adventurous trader and Christian missionary tarried a little while before entering a wilderness only occupied by warring savages.

Beautifully located on a bold promontory at the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, its picturesque appearance has frequently been sketched by the artist. Among its commandants have been some of the most efficient officers of the United States army.

The brave lieutenant, subsequently general, Zebulon M. Pike,* who was killed during the last war with Great Britain, was the first American officer who visited the region, and on the island in front of the fort, which appropriately bears his name, under orders from his superior, General Wilkinson, on the twenty-second

of September, 1805, held a council with the Sioux, informed them that the Spaniards had ceded to the United States the territory of Louisiana in which they dwelt, and that he had visited them to secure a piece of land where the President could send officers and soldiers who would protect them from the wrongs of traders and the attacks of their Indian foes. As a result of the conference, an agreement was signed the next day by which the Sioux, for a certain sum, conveyed to the United States, for the establishment of military posts, nine miles square at the mouth of St. Croix; also, from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peter's, now Minnesota river, up the Mississippi, to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river.

At that time British traders in the employ of the Northwest Company of Montreal had posts at Sandy lake, Leech lake and other points; and from a staff at each point floated the flag of Great Britain. Soon after Pike's visit difficulties arose with Great Britain, and the region, although owned by the United States, was under the complete control of foreigners.

When war was declared, the traders fought against the United States, and the

* Z. M. Pike was the son of Captain Pike of the War of the Revolution. He was born in January, 1779, at South Trenton, New Jersey. In March, 1799, he was second lieutenant of Second infantry, and at this time first lieutenant of First regiment; captain, August, 1809. Major Sixth infantry, May, 1808; colonel Fourth, December, 1809; colonel Fifteenth, July, 1812; brigadier-general, March, 1813. Killed April 27, 1813, at York, Canada.

Sioux chief, Petit Corbeau, whose village was at the great marsh, now become a suburb of the city of St. Paul, was active against the Americans, although his name was attached to the treaty by which the land upon which Fort Snelling is situated was granted. Joseph Renville, who had been Pike's interpreter, was also found upon the side of the enemy, soliciting allies for the Sioux. Captain T. G. Anderson, in command of British troops in September, 1814, in his journal, under date of the twenty-eighth of September, mentioned that, at eleven o'clock in the morning, Petit Corbeau, the Sioux chief, had arrived with one hundred young men and given assurance of his fidelity to the British, and promised that with his warriors he would exterminate all Indians who adhered to the Americans.

Peace was declared in 1815 between Great Britain and the United States, and in 1817 Major Stephen H. Long,* topographical engineer of the army, in a six-oared skiff visited the site which Pike had obtained for military purposes. He arrived on the sixteenth of July, and in his journal, first published by the Minnesota Historical society, writes of "a high point of land elevated about one hundred and twenty feet above the water and fronting immediately on the Mississippi. The point is formed by the bluffs

* Stephen Harriman Long, born at Hopkinton, New Hampshire, in 1784, and in 1809 graduated at Dartmouth. For a period he was a teacher, and in 1814 entered the army as second lieutenant of engineers. Major in 1816, and in 1823 commanded an expedition to the Lake of the Woods, by way of Fort Snelling. Brevet lieutenant-colonel, 1826, and major of topographical engineers, and in 1861 the chief, with rank of colonel. In 1863 he was retired and died at Alton, Illinois.

of the two rivers intercepting each other. A military work of considerable magnitude might be constructed on the point."

Never had so much bustle been seen among the *voyageurs* and half-breeds at Prairie du Chien as in the summer of 1819, caused by the hamlet being a temporary resting place for an expedition to build a military post at the site selected by Pike and described by Long.

Major-General Jacob Brown, as early as the tenth of February, 1819, issued the following order :

Major-General Macomb, commander of the Fifth Military department, will, without delay, concentrate at Detroit the Fifth regiment of infantry, excepting the recruits otherwise directed by the general order herewith transmitted. As soon as the navigation of the lakes will admit, he will cause the regiment to be transported to Fort Howard ; from thence by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to Prairie du Chien, and after detaching a sufficient number of companies to garrison Forts Crawford and Armstrong, the remainder will proceed to the mouth of the River St. Peter's, where they will establish a post, at which the headquarters of the regiment will be located. The regiment, previous to its departure, will receive the necessary supplies of clothing, provisions, arms and ammunition. Immediate application will be made to Brigadier-General Jesup, quartermaster-general, for funds necessary to execute the movements required by this order.

On the thirteenth of April General Macomb ordered Colonel Leavenworth,†

† Henry Leavenworth, born in 1783, in Connecticut, was a lawyer in early life, at Delhi, New York. In 1813 he became a major in the army and distinguished himself in 1814 at the battles of Chippewa and Niagara Falls. At the latter he was severely wounded. In 1818 he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth infantry, and in December, 1825, colonel of the Third infantry. He was the founder of Fort Leavenworth. On July 21, 1834, he died at Cross Timbers, in the Southwestern territory. At a meeting of the officers stationed at Fort Jesup, Louisiana, on the eleventh day of August, 1834, resolutions were passed expressive of their high esteem for the deceased, sympathy

without delay, to prepare his regiment to move to the new post on the Upper Mississippi.

At this period *Prairie du Chien* was only a rendezvous for traders, where their wives, generally Indian women or half-breeds, purchased after the Indian method, resided while they were at their remote posts during the winter months, trading for furs. There were forty or fifty houses scattered over the prairie above the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. Almost all were built by planting posts in the ground with grooves, so that the sides could be filled with split timber or round poles, and then plastered over with mud, white-washed, and the roof of bark, or shingles split from oak logs.

The leading trader there was a Scotchman named James Avid, who for many years had traded with the Sioux of Minnesota, while the most reckless was a Canadian Frenchman, Joseph Rolette, who was ever a law unto himself. He claimed to have been as a boy intended for the Roman Catholic priesthood, but

with the widow and orphan daughter, and a desire that the officers at Fort Towsen would co-operate in removing his remains to Delhi, New York, and in erecting a monument. In the cemetery of this town, where he had, when young, been a lawyer, is a broken marble column; on one side of the pedestal is the inscription: "In memory of Henry Leavenworth, Colonel of the Third United States Infantry and Brigadier-General in Army."

On second side: "Born at New Haven, Connecticut, December 10, 1783. Died in the service of his country near the False Washita, July 21, 1834."

On third side: "For his civic virtues his fellow-citizens of Delaware county honoured him with a seat in the legislature of New York. The fields of Chippewa, Niagara, Arickaree, established his fame."

On fourth side: "As a testimonial to his public and private worth, his regiment have erected this monument."

came into the country as the clerk of Murdoch Cameron, a trader who died and was buried on the banks of the Minnesota river. Among the soldiery who attacked, in 1814, the American stockade at this point appear the names of Colin Campbell, Louis Provencalle, J. B. Faribault, Augustine Rocque, Michael Brisbois and Joseph Rolette. The last acted as contractor and sutler. Among the military orders which have been preserved he is censured for selling rum to the troops—a business which he had learned while trading with the Indians. The earliest Anglo-American settler was Henry M. Fisher, with whom Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, in 1805, had interviews, and his beautiful young daughter became the last wife of Rolette.*

In June, 1818, one Willard Keyes opened a school at *Prairie du Chien*, and had about thirty scholars, and boarded with J. B. Faribault, and his wife Pelagie, a mixed blood.

Towards the close of June troops of the Fifth regiment began to arrive for the contemplated movement to the Upper Mississippi. From week to week boats loaded with ordnance, provisions and other military supplies, made their appearance. On the fifth of July Major Thomas Forsyth† came up from St. Louis in a keel-boat with goods valued at two thou-

* Rolette died in 1841, and his widow married a former clerk of her husband, Hercules L. Dousman.

† Thomas Forsyth was born in 1771 at Detroit. His father, an Irishman, had served under Wolfe at Quebec in 1759. As early as 1798 Thomas Forsyth was an Indian trader. In 1812 he was acting Indian agent at Peoria, Illinois. He was for a period agent for the Sauks and Foxes, and died October 29, 1833, at St. Louis, Missouri.

sand dollars to be distributed among the Sioux in accordance with the agreement made by Lieutenant Z. M. Pike fourteen years before.

The wives of Captain Gooding and of Lieutenant Nathan Clark* had dared the hardships of the wilderness and accompanied their husbands. Charlotte Clark was the daughter of Thomas Seymour, a lawyer in Hartford, Connecticut, accustomed to the best people and influences of that old place, and her grandmother was the sister of Colonel William Ledyard, the heroic commander who lost his life at Fort Griswold during the War of the Revolution, and to whose memory a monument stands at New London, Connecticut.

Scarcely had the troops reached the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, as Wisconsin was then written, when Mrs. Clark gave birth to a girl. The officers were attached to the gentle and refined wife who had maintained cheerfulness amid discouragements, and learning that the babe's first name was to be that of the mother, Charlotte, asked to give her a middle name, Ouisconsin, which was accepted. The babe still lives, a resident of the city of Minneapolis, the honored wife of a modest soldier, a graduate of West Point, who commanded the Second Minnesota regiment of volunteers in the successful charge at Mill Springs, Kentucky, during the War for the Union, and was made

brigadier-general and major-general of volunteers—Horatio P. Van Cleve.†

It was not until Sunday, the eighth of August, that Colonel Leavenworth was prepared to proceed to the mouth of the Minnesota, or St. Peter river, as it was then called. Never had so large a flotilla left Prairie du Chien. There were the colonel's barge, two large keel-boats loaded with military stores, and fourteen bateaux, and the entire force consisted of ninety-eight soldiers, about twenty men and the officers. When they reached the Upper Iowa river on the following Tuesday, they found at its mouth a distinguished Sioux chief, who had remained faithful to the Americans, while other chiefs of his tribe had proved faithless. He had but one eye, and was one of the signers of the agreement made in 1805 for a military site by Lieutenant Pike. His Indian name was Tah-mah-hah, of Red Wing's band; by the French he was called L'Original Levé, the Rising Moose. He was on the American gunboat *Governor Clarke* during the fight with the British. After the American Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien had, in 1814, surrendered, he came in this boat to St. Louis, and was employed to ascend the Missouri as far as

* Nathan Clark, a native of Connecticut, served in the War of 1812-15. He was commissioned, May, 1815, second lieutenant; March, 1817, first lieutenant; assistant commissary of subsistence, March, 1819; captain in June, 1824, and died in February, 1836, at Fort Winnebago.

† H. P. Van Cleve, son of John Van Cleve, a physician, was born in 1809 at Princeton, New Jersey. For a time he was a student at Princeton, and then entered West Point in 1827; second lieutenant Fifth infantry, 1831. Resigned in 1836 and became a civil engineer. In 1861 was a resident of Minnesota, and commissioned as colonel of Second Minnesota volunteers. In 1862 was brigadier-general, and wounded at battle of Stone river. In 1865 major-general of volunteers, and is living, June, 1888, at Minneapolis, Minnesota.

the James river, and then visit the Sioux and enlist them in favor of the United States. In time he again reached Prairie du Chien, and was arrested by Dickson, a British officer, and placed in confinement. He was at length liberated, and passed the winter of 1815 with his people. In May, 1815, the British evacuated their post at Prairie du Chien and fired the fort with an American flag flying, but this faithful Sioux, who happened to be there, rushed in and saved the colors from burning. He died in Minnesota in 1863, more than eighty years of age, and it was with pride he used to exhibit the following certificate,* given by Governor William Clarke † of Missouri, superintendent of Indian affairs:

In consideration of the fidelity, zeal and attachment testified by Tar-mah-hah of the Red Wing's band of Sioux to the government of the United States, and by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, do hereby confirm the said Tar-mah-hah as chief in said band of Sioux aforesaid, having bestowed on him the small-sized medal, wishing all and singular the Indians inhabitants thereof to obey him as a chief, and the officers and others in the service of the United States to treat him accordingly.

On the twenty-first of August Colonel Leavenworth reached the village of the Little Crow at the marsh on the east side of the Mississippi, now a suburb of the city of St. Paul, who had, in the last war with Great Britain, been conspicuous in hostility toward all citizens of the

United States. He acknowledged the cession of the land for a military post to Lieutenant Pike and received a present. On Monday, the twenty-third of August, all of the boats of the expedition reached the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and the next day Colonel Leavenworth selected for a cantonment a place on the lower bank of the Minnesota, not far from the railroad bridge, in the hamlet of Mendota. In about a week some officers came up in boats with one hundred and twenty more soldiers.

On Saturday, the twenty-eighth of August, a party made a visit to the Falls of St. Anthony in one of the boats. It was composed of Colonel Leavenworth, Major Vose, ‡ Surgeon Purcell, || Lieutenant Clark, the wife of Captain Gooding § and Major Thomas Forsyth of the Indian department. The boat could only advance within one mile of the falls, owing to the rapids, and from thence they walked. The water being low, some of the company walked from the west side over the ledge to the island dividing the

‡ Josiah H. Vose, born in Massachusetts, and in the War of 1812-15. Captain of Fifth infantry, 1815; major, December 31, 1820; lieutenant-colonel of the Third infantry, 1830; colonel of Fourth infantry, 1832; died July 15, 1845, at New Orleans barracks.

|| Edward Purcell was a Virginian, and during the War of 1812-15 was hospital surgeon; April, 1818, surgeon of the Fifth infantry, and died at Fort Snelling on eleventh of January, 1825.

§ George Gooding, born in Massachusetts, was, in 1808, an ensign of Fourth infantry; wounded November 7, 1811, in battle of Tippecanoe; first lieutenant Fifth infantry, 1815; captain, December, 1820; retired under the law in June, 1821; sutler at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, 1821 to 1827, where he died. His widow married a Mr. Johnson and went to St. Louis.

* The original is in the Minnesota Historical Society rooms at the capital, St. Paul.

† William Clarke, born in Virginia in 1770, and by his friend, President Jefferson, made second lieutenant of artillery. In 1804, with Captain Lewis, went on an expedition to the Pacific ocean. In 1813 appointed governor of Missouri territory; in 1822 superintendent of Indian affairs. Died in 1838.

falls, but found the water on the other side of the island too deep to reach the northeast bank of the river. Early in September one hundred and twenty-nine soldiers arrived at the cantonment.

While huts were being erected for the troops, the wife of Lieutenant Clark, with her young infant, lived on a keel-boat, but in a few weeks moved into a log cabin daubed with clay. While the first winter was very severe, the officers were active and cheerful, although the troops suffered from scurvy. Ex-Governor H. H. Sibley, who came to Mendota in 1834 as agent for the American Fur company, mentions that this disease raged so violently that garrison duty was for a few days suspended, the soldiers who were well being required as nurses for the sick. Some of those who went to bed in fair health were found dead the next morning, and one who was relieved from his turn of sentinel duty and stretched himself upon the bench in the guard-room, four hours later was discovered to be without life.

Colonel Leavenworth was distressed by the condition of the camp, supposed to have been produced by the agents of contractors drawing the brine from the pork barrels to lighten the load, and refilling with fresh water. He sent to Prairie du Chien for vinegar and had the country searched for spruce and other antiscorbutics.

The post school-master, during the first winter, was John Marsh, said to have been a college graduate, and who soon acquired the Sioux language. He became tired of the position of post school-teacher, and making the acquaintance of Lewis Cass, then governor of Michigan, he was first

employed by him because of his knowledge of Indian language, and in time was made a justice of the peace and sub-Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. During the Black Hawk war he acted as interpreter for the Sioux.

The first sutler was named Devotion. He arrived toward the close of 1819 at Mud Hen island, the Isle Peleé, above Lake Pepin, where Pierre Le Sueur, in 1695, had erected a fort, and where J. B. Faribault was then trading with the Sioux Indians. A few miles above, where the city of Hastings is now built, the sutler found a keel-boat of military supplies in charge of Lieutenant Oliver,* which had been detained by the ice and guarded by a few soldiers. The clerk of the sutler was Philander Prescott, the son of a physician, born at Phelpsstown, Ontario county, New York, and then about eighteen years of age. He remained during his life-time more or less identified with Fort Snelling, and in 1863, at the time of the Sioux uprising, although his children had a Sioux mother, was scalped.

In connection with the establishment of a military post, the United States created the first agency for the Sioux. In connection with the fort the government established the first Indian agency in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi. The first agent was Lawrence Taliaferro, born in 1794 in Prince William county, Virginia. At the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, with four of his brothers, he entered the army and was commissioned as lieutenant of the Thirty-

*William G. Oliver of Pennsylvania served in the War of 1812-15. Second lieutenant in Fifth infantry in 1818, and left the army in 1821.

fifth United States infantry. At the siege of Fort Erie and at Sackett's Harbor he behaved well, and when the war ended was retained as first lieutenant in Third infantry. In 1816 he was at Fort Dearborn, now in the centre of the city of Chicago. While on furlough, President Monroe, who was his friend, appointed him Indian agent. He proved one of the most efficient officers of the Indian department. His commission was dated March 27, 1819, and he remained at Fort Snelling and was retained until 1840 by successive Presidents, when, though appointed for the sixth term, he declined longer service.

The first winter the soldiers were occupied in clearing the site of the proposed fortification on the upper bank of the Minnesota river, and in cutting logs in the pine forests of the Valley of Rum river above the Falls of St. Anthony, which were brought down and used in the erection of temporary barracks. During the first year the relations between the Indian agent and Colonel Leavenworth were not clearly defined, and there was some little friction, as the following note from Major Taliaferro indicates, written in July, 1820 :

As it is now understood that I am agent for Indian affairs in this country, and you are about to leave the Upper Mississippi, in all probability, in the course of a month or two, I beg leave to suggest, for the sake of a general understanding with the Indian tribes of this country, that any medals you may possess, by being turned over to me, ceases to be a topic of remark among the different Indian tribes under my direction. I will pass to you any voucher that may be required, and I beg leave to observe that my progress in influence is much injured in consequence of this frequent intercourse with the government.

In May, 1820, the soldiers left the can-

tonment at Mendota, where they had suffered so much from scurvy, and crossing the Minnesota, encamped near a full, clear spring of water, upon the wide, elevated prairie, just beyond the site of the fort, which was designated as Camp Cold Water. The Indian agency for a time remained at the old cantonment.

There was a surprise in camp on the thirtieth of July, 1820, by the unexpected arrival of Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and party in birch bark canoes, having reached the Mississippi by way of Lake Superior and Sandy lake and then descended. The officers hunted up their uniforms and dusted them, in order that they might pay a visit of respect, and the following note of the adjutant of the post, which has been preserved, indicates the occasion :

July 30, 1820.

SIR:—General Cass is at this place and wishes to see the Indian agent. I send you a coat.

Yours, etc.,

P. R. GREEN,* Adjutant.

Mr. Taliaferro.

An unpleasant affair occurred about this time, which led the agent to write on the third of August to Colonel Leavenworth :

His Excellency Governor Cass, during his visit to this post, remarked to me that the Indians in this quarter were spoiled, and at the same time said they should not be permitted to enter the camp. An unpleasant affair has lately taken place—I mean the stabbing of the old chief, Mahgossan, by his comrade. This was caused, doubtless, by an anxiety to obtain the chief's whiskey. I beg, therefore, that no whiskey whatever be given to any Indian, unless it be through their proper agent. While an overplus of whiskey thwarts the beneficent and humane policy of the government, it entails misery upon the Indians and endangers their lives.

*Platt R. Green of Pennsylvania was second lieutenant of the Fifth infantry, May, 1815; first lieutenant, March, 1820, and died June 30, 1828, at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.

During the first year of the military occupation, two hundred and eighty-three Ojibways, or Chippeways, including women and children, visited the post, and about two thousand Sioux, and the Indian agent distributed among them one hundred and forty-one gallons of "milk," as whiskey was called.

In August Josiah Snelling,* who had been recently promoted to the colonelcy of the Fifth regiment, arrived and relieved Leavenworth. On the tenth of September, under his efficient direction, the corner-stone of the first edifice was laid with appropriate ceremonies. In digging the foundation for the circular stone battery, which, until recently, stood in rear of the commanding officer's quarters, at the foot of a small oak tree, a bottle was picked up and placed in the hands of Colonel Snelling, in which had been placed, in 1805, by Lieutenant Pike, a copy in writing of the agreement by which the Sioux ceded the land to the United States.

The wife of Colonel Snelling accompanied him, making the fourth lady in the garrison, and this month her fifth child was born, which, after living thirteen months, expired. The stone which marks the resting-place of the remains of the little one may yet be seen in the military grave-yard. During the summer of 1820

* Josiah Snelling, jr., born in 1782 in Massachusetts; was in 1808 first lieutenant Fourth infantry; captain in June, 1809, and in 1811 at battle of Tippecanoe. In battle at Brownstown in 1812, and for distinguished service made brevet major. In May, 1815, he was retained as lieutenant-colonel, and on June 1, 1819, commissioned as colonel of Fifth infantry. He died on August 20, 1828, in Washington city.

a party of Sisseton Sioux, on the banks of the Missouri river, killed a Canadian, Joseph Andrews, and Isadore Poupon, half-breed, both in the employ of the American Fur company. As soon as Agent Taliaferro was informed, he sent a young Indian to the Sisseton and Wahpayton Sioux, and informed the chiefs that he wished them to visit him. They acceded to the request, and a council was held on the twenty-ninth of September, in the presence of Colonel Snelling. The Indians were informed that two of their number would be detained as hostages until the murderers were delivered, which was displeasing.

Colin Campbell, the interpreter,† was also sent to Big Stone lake to secure the murderers if possible. The result of the visit is seen in the following interesting letter of Colonel Snelling to the secretary of war:

CANTONMENT, ST. PETER'S, }
November 13, 1820. }

SIR:—When I had the honor to address you on the tenth, for the disposition then manifested by the Sussitongs, I had no hope of obtaining the surrender of the murderers of our people on the Missouri, but, contrary to my expectation, one of the murderers and an old chief, self-devoted, in the place of his son, was voluntarily brought in and delivered up yesterday.

The ceremony of delivery was conducted with much solemnity. A procession was formed at some distance from the garrison, and marched to the centre of our parade. It was preceded by a Sussitong bearing the British flag; the murderer and devoted chief followed with their arms pinioned, and large splinters of wood thrust through them above the elbows to indicate, as I understood, their contempt of pain and death.

The relations and friends followed, and on the way, joined them in singing their death-song.

† Colin, Scott and Duncan Campbell, children of an old trader by an Indian woman, were all employed at different times as interpreters.

When they arrived in front of the guard, the British flag was laid on a fire prepared for the occasion and consumed; the murderer gave up his medal and both the prisoners were surrendered.

The old chief I have detained as a hostage, the murderer I have sent to St. Lewis under a proper guard for trial, presuming it is a course you will approve.

I am much indebted to Mr. Colin Campbell, the interpreter, for his great exertions in bringing this affair to a speedy issue. The delivery of the murderer is solely to be attributed to his influence over the Sussitongs.

The Indian agent contemplating a visit to Washington with some Sioux chiefs, the following letter, signed by the officers of the post, was drawn up by Colonel Snelling. It reads:

In justice to Lawrence Taliaferro, esq., Indian agent at this post, we the undersigned officers of the Fifth regiment, here stationed, have presented him this paper as a token not only of our individual respect and esteem but as an entire approval of his conduct and deportment as a public agent in this quarter.

Given at St. Peter, this fourth day of October, 1820.

J. Snelling, colonel Fifth infantry; N. Clark, lieutenant; S. Burbank,^a battalion major; Joseph Hare,^e lieutenant; David Perry,^b captain; Edward Purcell, surgeon; G. Gooding, battalion captain; P. R. Green, lieutenant adjutant; J. Plympton,^c lieutenant; W. G. Camp,^f lieutenant quartermaster; R. A. McCabe,^d lieutenant; W. Wilkins,^g lieutenant.

^a Sullivan Burbank was born in Massachusetts, and in 1800 was a sergeant-major; was captain at Niagara Falls in July, 1814, and severely wounded. After the war, became major Fifth infantry; lieutenant-colonel in 1836, and in 1839 resigned.

^b David Perry of Massachusetts was in the War of 1812-15, and captain of Fifth infantry in 1815. In April, 1822, he resigned.

^c Joseph Plympton was born in 1787 at Sudbury, Massachusetts, and served in War of 1812-15. He was first lieutenant of Fifth infantry in May, 1815; captain in June, 1821; major, 1840; commanded troops in fight with Seminole Indians, Florida, in January, 1842; lieutenant-colonel of Seventh infan-

The daughter of Captain Clark, Mrs. H. P. Van Cleve, writes that in 1821 the fort was sufficiently finished to be occupied by the troops, and that her father's quarters were next beyond the steps leading to the commissary's stores, and that there, in that year, her sister Juliet was born. Afterwards Major Garland and Captain Clark were allowed to build two stone residences beyond the gates, which in later years were occupied by the Indian agent and interpreter, but now destroyed.

Early in August a young and intelligent mixed blood, Alexis Bailly—about a quarter century afterwards a member of the first legislature of Minnesota—left the post with the first drove of cattle for Lord Selkirk's settlement.

The next month a party of Sisseton Sioux came to the post, and their spokesman said to the agent:

We are glad to find your door open to-day, my father. The Indians are like the wild dogs of the prairie. When they stop at night, they lie down in

try, 1846, and led his regiment at Cerro Gordo and Contreras, Mexico; colonel, 1853, and died in 1860 on Staten Island.

^d Robert A. McCabe of Pennsylvania was in the War of 1812-15, and was second lieutenant of Fifth infantry, May, 1815, and the next year first lieutenant. In 1824 he was captain; resigned in 1833; and was appointed Indian agent and postmaster at Fort Winnebago. From 1836 to 1845 he was sutler to the troops on Mackinaw island, and before 1845 he died.

^e Joseph Hare of Pennsylvania, second lieutenant of Fifth infantry in 1820, and under an act of congress reducing the army in June, 1821, left the service.

^f William G. Camp of Ohio was wounded at Niagara Falls in 1814, and in February, 1818, was made second lieutenant of Fifth infantry, under the Reduction act; left the service in June, 1821.

^g Henry Wilkins of Pennsylvania left the service in June, 1821, under the act of congress.

the open air and pursue their journey. I applied for the other murderer of the white men of the Missouri, but in bringing him down the fear of being hung induced him to stab and kill himself.

About the middle of October, in the keel-boat *Saucy Jack*, Colonel Snelling, Major Taliaferro, Lieutenant Baxley* and the wife of Captain Gooding departed for Prairie du Chien. Captain Gooding, who had been wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe, about this time became the sutler at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien.

The latter part of this year Laidlaw,

* Joseph M. Baxley of Maryland had been in the War of 1812-15, and made second lieutenant of Fifth infantry in June, 1819; first lieutenant in 1824; captain in March, 1833, and in April, 1836, he resigned.

superintendent of Lord Selkirk's farm, and Colonel Robert Dickson—also spelled Dixon—arrived at the fort from the Lake Winnipeg region, on their way to Prairie du Chien. Dickson was well educated, of courtly manners and an agreeable companion, yet had conformed to the customs and dress of the savages while living among them, and by an Indian woman had a large family of children. During the War of 1812-1815 he was the British superintendent of Indian affairs, and led the Indian allies against the Americans. Dickson came back the next spring with a drove of cattle for Selkirk's settlement, but his cattle were scattered by the Sioux.

EDWARD D. NEILL

[To be continued.]

A CONTRIBUTION TO LABOR HISTORY—STRIKERS AND SCABS OF THE LAST CENTURY.

HISTORY, Cicero says, is the mother of all political science; to be ignorant of it is to be a child in knowledge. History, Macaulay remarks, is philosophy teaching by examples.

The latter writer then continues thus:

Unhappily, what the philosophy gains in soundness and depth, the examples generally lose in vividness. . . . Of the romantic historians Herodotus is the earliest and the best. . . . He reminds us of a delightful child. . . . Children and servants are remarkably Herodotian in their style of narration. They tell everything dramatically. Their "says hes" and "says shes" are proverbial. . . . If an educated man were giving an account of the late change of administration he would say, "Lord Goderich resigned and the king in consequence sent for the Duke of Wellington." A porter tells

the story as if he had been hid behind the curtains of the royal bed at Windsor: "So Lord Goderich says, 'I cannot manage this business, I must go out.' So the king, says he, 'Well, then I must send for the Duke of Wellington, that's all.'" This is the very manner of the Father of History.

We are happy in having, ready made and in this dramatic and dialogue form, the report of strikes which occurred in Philadelphia in the years 1796 and 1798. The occurrences are not generally known. Both Mr. Ely, in his essays on "Labor History," and Mr. McMaster, in his more voluminous volumes, pass them by in silence. In the law books, however, there is an occasional reference to the legal proceedings which the last-mentioned

strike, and one following it, occasioned. I have been fortunate in finding a rare little book, published in Philadelphia, in 1806, by T. Lloyd, reporter, giving a *verbatim* account, "taken in short-hand," of "The Trial of the Philadelphia Boot and Shoe Makers," with the evidence taken on the trial, the speeches of the lawyers, the charge of the judge and several other circumstances of interest. From it we learn numerous facts of historical importance: There was a trades-union flourishing in 1792; strikes were called "turn-outs;" walking delegates were "tramping committees;" and the term "scab" had a definite and distinct meaning and was in frequent use.

This term, "scab," as applied to men who are not members of trades-unions, has been so frequently supposed to be of recent origin that I cannot refrain from calling attention to its use by Shakespeare, who, according to Johnson, means by it "a mean, paltry fellow." The reader may judge for himself of its significance, by the following Shakespearian quotations:

CORIOLANUS: ACT I., SCENE I.

CAIUS MARCIUS—What's the matter, you dissentionous rogues, that, rubbing the poor itch of your opinion, make yourselves scabs?

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA: ACT II., SCENE I.

AJAX—Do not propentine, do not; my fingers itch.

THERSITES—I would thou didst itch from head to foot, and I had the scratching of thee; I would make thee the loathsome scab in all Greece; when thou art forth in the incursions, thou strikest as slow as another.

KING HENRY IV., PART 2, ACT III., SCENE 2.

FALSTAFF—Come, manage me your caliver. So very well—go to—very good, exceeding good! Oh, give me always a little, lean, old, bald shot! Well

said, i' faith, Wart, thou'rt a good scab; hold, here's a tester for thee.

SHALLOW—He is not his craft's master; he does not do it right.

The trial of the Philadelphia boot and shoemakers took place in March, 1806, in the mayor's court, before Mr. Recorder Levy. The indictment was found by the grand jury in January of the same year, and the strike which occasioned that indictment occurred in the autumn of 1805.

The first witness put upon the stand was Job Harrison, who, being duly sworn, testified that he arrived in this country in 1794, and that immediately after his arrival he sought work as a shoemaker. At once he was visited by members of the boot and shoemaker's trades-union. At this point I give the testimony *verbatim*, premising that it is Job Harrison who is speaking from the witness stand:

They told me if I did not come to the body I was liable to be "scabb'd." I did not know at that time what it was to be "scabb'd," but some of the men explained it, and I told them I was willing to be as good a member of their body as any other man.

Mr. RECORDER—Q. How did they explain themselves?

A. Their meaning was that if I did not join the body, no man would sit upon the seat where I worked; that they would neither board nor work where I was, unless I joined. By a seat, I mean that they would not work in the same shop, nor board nor lodge in the same house, nor would they work at all for the same employer. I was a man with a large family, and wished to conform to the laws, and be a good member, etc.

Q. Did you ever fall under the displeasure of the body, and what was their conduct towards you?

A. After I had become a member, I was as willing as anyone to support the body. I had been with them a considerable time when, in the year 1799 or '98, I do not recollect exactly—but I should first observe that I always worked upon shoes for Mr. Bedford; I had not worked long for him before I got

on to light dress shoes—he told me if I could make some light dress shoes after the London fashion, he would pay extra wages for them. I tried to imitate the London dress shoes, but I could not imitate them exactly, yet I did the best I could, and he told me they deserved sixpence more than the common wages. As I continued on this light work my hand got better in, and he told me if I would side line them with silk, he would give me sixpence a week more—this was a shilling advance. He told me if I would endeavor to make them lighter still, so as to come nearer to the London dress; accordingly I tried and found I could now imitate them tolerably well, and he was satisfied to give me 9s. a pair if I did them no worse.

In a little while there came a turn-out to raise the wages upon boots. Knowing that I had my full terms for my own work and that I had no interest in the turn-out upon boots—that I had everything to lose and nothing to gain—I remonstrated with the society at large, of which I was still a member. I stated that they ought not to include me with them in the turn-out, as I worked altogether upon shoes, and their measure was to raise the wages on boots. I mentioned that I had a sick wife and a large, young family, and that I knew I was not able to stand it. They would grant me no quarters at all, but I must turn out. All the remonstrances I could make were of no use—I must turn out. Unless my employer would pay their price for making boots, I must refuse to make shoes. At that time I was from hand to mouth and in debt, owing to the sickness of my family, and market work was only from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per pair. I concluded at that time I would turn a scab, unknown to them; and I would continue my work, and not let them know of it. . . .

I had a neighbor who I was acquainted with and thought a good deal of; I knew I could not deceive him. . . . He was a shoemaker and upon the turn-out. I said to him, "Swain, you know my circumstances; my family must perish or go to the bettering house, unless I continue my work." He said he knew my case was desperate, but a man had better make any sacrifice than turn a scab at that time. I reasoned with him as I had done with the body, that my turning out would be of no advantage to them, but certain ruin to myself; but he was as unreasonable as they had been, and would take no apology for my conduct.

MR. RECORDER—Q. How many persons were at the meeting when you remonstrated against being compelled to join the turn-out in 1799?

A. Perhaps one hundred. The body was composed of upwards of one hundred. The names were called over but the number present was not mentioned.

John McCurdy, John Waltar and one Cooke were a "tramping committee"—that I know. Their business was to watch the "Jer.s"* that they did not scab it. They go round every day to see that the Jer.s are honest to the cause. I was a scab myself, but I was upon the committee to go round and watch the scabs; but then the members did not know I was a scab at the time. And we were obliged to serve on this committee or pay a fine. We had no compensation that I recollect. We served for the good of the cause, and I think the "tramping committee" were changed every day by the body. I had the extent of my wages the whole time—I am speaking of the turn-out in 1799.

When the "tramping committee" came round and he informed them that I was scabbing it, to deceive them I got a side of leather and a skin or two to make shoes of, as a pretense of working for myself, as they must know I would be in want of money. But McCurdy was too deep for me, for he knew Bedford's work. They pinned me so close that I could not get over it, and was forced to confess. At last I got angry and ordered them out of the house, and told them I would scab it whatever consequences might follow. The body after this thought it necessary to take one man, instead of three, as a "tramping committee," and they paid him. They took one Nelson for the business. He had nobody but himself when he called upon me the day after. I told him I was scabbing it. He replied, "I don't believe you." "Depend on it I am!" He still seemed as if he did not believe me. He went away and called the third day, and he might see, if he was not determined to doubt, for in Bedford's shoes there is the name of the customer, if it is bespoke work, or if it is shop work there is the number of the pair.

As soon as the turn-out was over, in which the journeymen succeeded, they notified Mr. Bedford that he must discharge his scabs or they would not work for him. They knew S. Logan and me to be scabs, and unless we were discharged from our seats none of the body would work for him. Mr. Bedford said he would do no such thing; he would never discharge his men whilst he was satisfied with their conduct. When I came in, he told me of the notification, and I expected he would knock me off,

* Query, Journeymen?—A. D. V.

and I was afraid if he dismissed me I could not get another seat in the city, for the next employer would be under the necessity of discharging me likewise. He told me I need not make myself uneasy, for he would not discharge me, let the consequences be what they might; that we should sink or swim together. "If they drive me out of the trade I will turn my shop into a dry goods store." In a little time after this his shop was scabbed, and all the members of the body left him except Logan and myself and two or three more; they did not care about the others, so as they could punish Logan and me. Mr. Bedford said he did not know what to do on the occasion, for at that time he employed from fifteen and twenty to twenty-four journeymen.

One Saturday night they had all left him, when he said to Logan and me, "I don't know what the devil I am to do; they will ruin me in the end, for they care for nobody else. I wish you would go to the body and pay a fine, if not very large, in order to set the shop free once more."

Logan and me consulted and agreed together that if the body would accept a fine as far as eight dollars, we would pay it and make an acknowledgment, but we pledged our words that we would not pay any more. By doing this we should liberate the shop and ourselves, and become again a member of the body. Accordingly the body were notified that we were below, and wished to know the fine they would lay upon us, in order that we might again become members and liberate the shop. The members told us that the sense of the body had been taken and fined me twenty dollars for being a hypocrite though my work did not belong to what they had been contending for; they fined Logan but eighteen dollars, although he was a bootmaker, and consequently interested in the event. This decision irritated me worse than ever. It was like throwing coals of fire in my face. However, the members returned to the body and told them we were ready to receive their terms if they were merciful, and would receive a moderate fine; they reduced me to eighteen dollars and at length to twelve dollars, but that was too much. . . . When they offered by their deputation to take twelve dollars, Logan and me consulted and offered them eight dollars apiece, which we were willing to pay. They had no power of attending to this offer without the concurrence of the body, and they refused it. . . . Logan and myself then came away, but told them first we would never offer them eight dollars again.

Mr. Bedford's shop was under scab for a year or a year and a half; during this time Logan set up for

himself, and I was left alone on the seat. I thought, to be sure, that they would now reach me; that Mr. Bedford would not any longer defend me, as it would be sacrificing himself. I felt broken-hearted and much cast down. I asked him if he would not be forced to give me up? He told me he would not, and I now believe he would have suffered to be driven out of the trade before he would have abandoned me. It lasted in this way for eighteen months. Soon after the last sickness* but one commenced, I went to Trenton to where Mr. Bedford had removed his shop—I think it was in 1802. I became acquainted there with Dempsey, the secretary. When I first fell in with him he would not speak to me, because he knew I was a scab; but as I fell often in company with him, he could not avoid saying something, and one day he asked me what the devil was the reason I was such a notorious scab. . . . He was not a member at the time I was scabbed; all he knew of it was by hearsay. He soon became friendly, and he asked me if he could break the matter to the body would I become a member again. I readily agreed, for I knew well the difficulty I had been laboring under; if I once lost my seat at Mr. Bedford's I should be driven to market work, at which I could not make a living. He told me he would try to bring it about. . . . He asked me would I give five dollars. I said I was not able, but if able I would not; all I would pay would be some trifling acknowledgment for transgressing the law. . . . He promised to use his influence that I should pay little or nothing. A few days after two men came to me to require me to attend a meeting on the next body night. I attended accordingly, and a deputation from the body, composed of three members, met me and Casey, another scab. They went into a private room, and, after consulting for some time, they asked if we were willing to pay eight dollars each. I told them that they were making fun of me, and that I would go home about my business. They begged I would not be hasty. I did not wish to leave them, for I was as willing again to become a member as they could be for me. They asked me if I would pay four dollars in four monthly payments. We agreed to this, and then we went to the body; the proposition was put to the vote and carried by a large majority; we agreed to pay it, and thereupon became members again. . . . The money has all been paid, but I felt myself after all but as a "scabbed sheep," and visit the body as

* Referring probably to some epidemic in Philadelphia,—A. D. V.

seldom as possible, missing three nights out of four.

I had not been a member more than a year when last fall there was a turn-out again. . . The turn-out continued about five or six weeks. During this time I lived by cobbling, for I made but three pair of shoes. These three pair I did not carry in till the turn-out was over, for I was determined not to be a scab this time.

[Some noise being heard in the court at this moment, Mr. Recorder asked who it was that made that noise.

Mr. Ryan, pointing to a person just behind him, said it was he; and on being asked by Mr. Recorder what the person said, Mr. Ryan replied: "A scab is a shelter for lice."

Mr. Recorder directed Mr. Ryan to be sworn, which being done he declared that he heard George Alcorn say "a scab is a shelter for lice," in a distinct tone of voice; there was some little addition muttered in such a manner that he could not understand it.

After a short consultation on the bench, Mr. Recorder said, "George Alcorn, for this contempt of court in interrupting a witness, the court fine you ten dollars, and order you to pay the money immediately or be committed."

The money was paid immediately.]

The witness then proceeded:

I was soon placed in a like awkward predicament to that in which I had been placed before. . . I had a wife and six children depending upon the work of my hands for their support, and I could not get half a living by market work. I attended the shop meeting and stated the hardship of my case. They told me there was money enough in the funds to support those members who wanted support, and they agreed that I should be allowed half a dollar a week for each child, half a dollar for my wife and half a dollar for myself, which brought my compensation to four dollars per week.

Another witness, William Forgrave by name, testified as follows:

The name of a scab is very dangerous. Men of this description have been hurt when out at nights. I myself have been threatened for working at wages with which I was satisfied. I was afraid of going near any of the body. I have seen them twisting and making wry faces at me, and heard two men call out "scab" as I passed by. I was obliged to join for fear of personal injury.

Samuel Logan, whose name was mentioned in Harrison's testimony, gave some evidence which shows that the treatment of a scab, in the latter part of the last century, was but little different from what it is to-day. After stating that he joined the society in 1792, that there was a turn-out in 1796 and another in 1798, he continues:

In 1799, when the fever broke out, I was still considered as an unlawful member. Mr. Bedford went to Germantown, and one Sunday afternoon I walked with him to the Falls of Schuylkill. I perceived some of the body there, and they abused me; one thoughtless young chap called me a scab—there were two of them. I checked him, and Mr. Bedford kept off one while I flogged the other. . . . I have also been tantalized in the streets as I have passed, on account of my being a scab.

Turning to the testimony of the employers, we read again of a state of affairs to which we are not to-day strangers. Mr. Blair, one of the master cordwainers, testified:

At the turn-out in 1798 I had six men working for me, who were willing to continue, notwithstanding the turn-out at that time. These men were kept up in a garret, but sometimes after dark they would venture out to Mrs. Finch's, next door but one, to get a drink of beer. One Sunday evening, when I was gone to meeting with my wife and boy, they had ventured out again.* When I returned I found them hid away in the cellar. They had been beaten; and the girl was crying, and had been beaten also. I was very angry, and determined next day to buy a cow-skin and whip the first that came near the house. Their clerk, Nelson, was the first, and I fell foul of and beat him. He sued me for it, and my men sued them afterwards. We dropped the whole and squared the yards. The men first acknowledged that they beat my men for being scabs.

Mr. Bedford (who, it will be remembered, refused to discharge Harrison when

* If to get beer, the incident affords a comment on the then state of Philadelphia's Sunday morals.

the latter was a scab) gives his experience in a lively and interesting manner. Going back to the strike in 1798, he says that after the other employers had yielded to the demands of the strikers, a committee from the Journeymen's association came to him and required him to discharge these scabs, meaning Harrison and Logan. He told them peremptorily that he would not do so; and what then followed is best told in his own language:

They went away, and at the next meeting they scabbed my shop. After the meeting was over, they came in a tumultuous way about my house. My wife was very much alarmed, said she hoped they would not set the house on fire. . .

At the time the shop was scabbed, they would often come by the window and abuse me; one, two or three nights, they broke my shop window, and they took care I should not mistake the quarter from which it came. They did not wish to break my windows and let me suppose it was done by any others than themselves. Once they broke the window with potatoes which had pieces of broken shoemaker's tacks in them—at least the one had which they aimed at my person and was near hitting me in the face. The boy ran out to discover them, but he could not find them out. In this way I continued to be tantalized by the men for a long space of time.

In this connection it may be interesting to refer to the wages given and demanded. A schedule is given in the report of the trial:

Fancy tops were	\$4.25	proposed to be raised to	\$5.00
Back straps "	3.75	" " " "	4.00
Long boots "	2.75	" " " "	3.00
Cossacks "	2.75	" " " "	3.00
Bootees "	2.50	" " " "	3.00

And having given the schedule of the journeymen, it might be worth while to give also the unanimous resolution of the masters. It is in these words:

At a meeting of the employers, master cordwainers, October 30, 1805:

Resolved, unanimously, that we will not give any more wages than we have given for some time past.

Wm. M'Cully, President,	Lewis Ryan,
Presly Blackiston,	John Bedford,
William Blair,	Thomas Rimer,
John Conyers,	Fred. Errenger, secretary,
John Wharton,	Casper Louders,
William Stokes,	George Falker,
John M'Curdy,	Robert Murphey,
William Montgomery,	Daniel Cossack,
John Thompson,	William Green,
Jacob Bechtel,	Robert Taylorson,
William Harkins,	William Niles,
Charles Justis,	Adam Walter,
John Hallman,	John Owen,
Peter Sturgis,	John Yeager,
Robert Christy,	Robert Millikin,
George Kemble,	Jacob Malambre,
Leonard Shallcross,	George Abel,
St. Lawrance Adams,	James Newton,
Stephen Clayton,	Thomas Amies,
Daniel Pierson,	George Rees,
Samuel Logan,	Nicolas Crap,
L. Keating (for Joseph Baldwin),	James Alexander,
	Richard Miles,

Lemuel Franklin.

It might be interesting to dwell at greater length upon the testimony of the masters and the journeymen, but space forbids. Enough has been said to show the historical value of this little book and the light which it sheds upon the trade of boot and shoemaking at the beginning of the first century of our country's independence. I therefore leave the testimony of the witnesses and pass on to the arguments of counsel. Jared Ingersol and Joseph Hopkinson, esqrs., appeared for the prosecution; Cæsar A. Rodney and Walter Franklin appeared for the indicted journeymen.

Mr. Hopkinson read to the jury the whole of the indictment, and proceeded to comment upon it in words which might easily be put into the mouth of an assistant district attorney of to-day. He said:

This prosecution has been commenced not from any private pique or personal resentment, but solely with a view to promote the common good of the community, and to prevent, in future, the pernicious combinations of misguided men to effect purposes not only injurious to themselves but mischievous to society.

Yet infinite pains have been taken to represent this prosecution as founded in very improper motives; not only in private conversation and in public taverns, but even the press has been employed in the work of misrepresentation. The newspaper called *The Aurora* has teemed with false representations and statements of this transaction, and the most insolent abuse of the parties who have brought it before this tribunal, with a view (if not with the declared intention) to poison the public mind. . . .

It has been a common observation that newspaper accounts of the proceedings in our courts of law are filled with mistakes and misrepresentations. The publications alluded to are in conformity to this general character, and mark the ignorance or wickedness which gave them birth.

The present action is not intended to introduce the doctrine that a man is not at liberty to fix any price whatsoever upon his own labor. We disclaim that idea. In the most unqualified terms, we declare that any man has the right to fix any price upon his commodities or his labor which he deems proper. . . . If one of the defendants had thought proper to charge \$100 for making a pair of boots, nobody would interfere.

Our position is that no man is at liberty to combine, conspire, confederate and unlawfully agree to regulate the whole body of the workmen in the city.

. . . This confederacy . . . is not against the masters, it is against such part of the fellow-craft as do not wish to submit . . . to the few. It is . . . a society for compelling, by the most arbitrary and malignant means, the whole body of the journey-men to submit to its rules and regulations; it reaches every individual of the trade, whether journey-man or master. It will appear, from the evidence to be adduced before you, to spread to an extent to which you cannot as yet form any idea. You will find that they not only determine the price of labor for themselves but compel everyone to demand that price and to receive no other; they refuse to hold communion with any person who shall disobey their mandates; in fine, they regulate the whole trade under the most dreadful pains and penalties. . . .

We shall shew you the nature of the pains and penalties they affix to disobedience; we shall also

show the mode by which they compel men to join their society. . . . A journeyman arriving from Europe or any part of the United States, an apprentice who has served his time, must join the association, or be shut out from every shop in the city. . . . Nay, every master shoemaker must decline to employ such journeyman, or his shop will be abandoned by all the other workmen . . . and so on until the persecuted man either joins their body or is driven from the city.

Reading this address, we can hardly realize that it was made more than four-score years ago—that judge and jury who listened to it and the lawyer who made it have all sunk into that sleep which the evils of their life cannot disturb. We might almost suppose that it was made yesterday, in one of the great centres of labor, and is not the mere echo, from printed pages, of words to which men listened eagerly in 1806.

It is not my intention to dwell much longer upon the addresses of counsel; but, as valuable contributions to history, I would cite some few additional remarks which shed light upon facts not now generally known, or upon opinions which are to-day erroneously harbored by the ignorant as novel truths.

Mr. Hopkinson, from whom I have previously quoted, says (I quote as printed):

This secret association, this private club, composed of men who have been only a little while in your country (not that they are the worse for that), but they ought to submit to the laws of the country, and not attempt to alter them according to their own whim or caprice.

I think it may be safely said that nine-tenths of the newspapers published in 1886 have paralleled this statement of Francis Hopkinson's, by stating or insinuating that trades-unions and strikes are products of recent immigrants from foreign

lands—exotics of recent importation. But it must be confessed that, by the light of history, both statements are seen to be utterly false; for though strikes and trades-unions may have prevailed abroad before they were known in this country, yet when they have existed here for nearly a century, it is not correct to call them foreign.

The doctrine of "tit for tat" prevails among some lawyers as among some other people, and Mr. Rodney, speaking on behalf of the defendants, took occasion to retaliate upon the masters for the accusation of Mr. Hopkinson upon the journeymen, as follows—and we hear to-day somewhat the same kind of talk among the laboring classes:

Suppose I were to ask Mr. Bedford what was his situation when he first landed on our free shores? . . . We should discover that he had amassed an ample fortune since he sought an asylum in this new country. . . .

When I hear men who have inherited large fortunes from their ancestors, advocating distinctions in society, and espousing measures calculated to affect and oppress the laboring classes of the community, I feel a degree of charity for the errors which they commit. . . . I cannot feel the same charity for another description of men of which, thank God, we have very few in this country. For strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that we sometimes meet with an individual who, having but the other day, as it were, fled from a country where his labor was fixed at so low a price that he could support himself and his family only on bread and water, and having acquired in this land of liberty . . . a handsome fortune, is loud and boisterous for reducing those who move here in his former humble sphere to the same extent of vassalage and want which he had, to his sorrow, experienced in the despotic regions from which he had been compelled, "by strong necessity's supreme command," to fly.

I rather think that, so far as words go, Mr. Rodney got the better of Mr. Hopkinson, on this trial.

Mr. Richard T. Ely, in a late work,

professes to give a chapter upon the history of trades-unions, and in this he makes the most extraordinary statement that he could find, outside of New York state, no record of a trades-union formed previously to 1822. As Mr. Ely passes for an authority upon such matters, it is not out of place to state that it was admitted on this trial of the journeymen boot and shoemakers that the "Society of Journeymen Cordwainers" had been established in Philadelphia for more than fifteen years prior to 1806, and that the masters had a society for the management of their concerns in 1789.

There was also cited on this trial an instance of arbitration of conference, of which labor historians seem to have been hitherto ignorant. I give it in the words of Mr. Franklin and the italics of Mr. Lloyd:

When the *full-dress-fancy-top-back-strap-boots* were introduced into New York, the employers there at first objected to making any allowance to the journeymen for the difference of labor and loss of time; but afterwards, actuated by a better spirit of liberality, *they held a meeting with the workmen*, and after entering into a full explanation of the case, the employers were convinced of the justice of the workmen's demand and resolved to comply with it.

There are many who think that trades-unions are of recent origin in this country; that they have grown out of the circumstances of the past twenty-seven years and have been imported hither by recent foreign immigration. Such ideas history contradicts. Societies and associations of journeymen of all trades have existed for centuries in England, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the English workmen who sought a refuge in this country from the oppressive social restric-

tions of their native land, brought with them the habits and customs of their class. The seeds of trades-unionism were therefore implanted here prior to the Revolution, and only awaited a favorable opportunity to spring into life and bear the fruit of strikes or turn-outs.

They have taken kindly to the soil, and the attempt to uproot them entirely is a hopeless task for those who have rashly attempted it.

ARTHUR DUDLEY VINTON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE name of "Put-in-Bay" has been followed back still further into the eighteenth century, by Judge C. C. Baldwin, who writes this magazine as follows: "It appears by the diary of Rev. David Zeisberger, lately published by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., Vol. I, p. 268, that on the twenty-ninth of April, 1786, his Moravian band came, toward evening, 'to Pudding Bay, among the islands, when the captain came to anchor in water six fathoms deep, for from that point he had to change his course and must wait for a suitable wind, and here, moreover, the harbor is good and protected from all winds.' They staid there until May 23, and were on their way from Detroit to the mouth of the Cuyahoga."

THE second celebration at Marietta, that of July 15, promises to be as successful in all respects as was that of April. A communication from headquarters explains the character of the event, and the programme that is to be presented: "There will be addresses by gentlemen of National reputation, a large and fine display of historical documents, relics, portraits, paintings, etc., illustrative of and relating to the early history of the northwest, and other entertainments, all of which will be open to the public free of charge. Nor will it be local in character, for it is not intended to commemorate the first settlement of this old town, or of the state of Ohio merely, but of the Northwest territory and of the institution of civil government therein under the Ordinance of 1787. The events to be commemorated are National and historical events, and with the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the Union under the Federal Constitution and the subjugation of the late Rebellion, are the significant events in our Nation's history. The Ordinance of 1787, the settlement

of the northwest and the establishment of civil government therein under that ordinance have exerted a potent and controlling influence beyond the power of the historian, philosopher or statesman to calculate, upon our National growth and prosperity, and in molding and directing our Nation's prosperity and destiny, and the character of its institutions, and have contributed in a very large degree to make possible what as a Nation we have accomplished within the century, and what we are to-day. The centennial anniversary of these important National historical events should be fittingly commemorated, and at the place where they occurred."

"IN view of their importance and significance," continues the statement, "and that they occurred in Ohio, our state, through her general assembly, ought to have taken the initiatory steps in arranging for an appropriate celebration at this place and made suitable provision therefor, and, after taking the initiatory steps, should have requested the other states carved out of the Northwest territory to assist and participate therein—in other words, our state, as a state, should have taken this celebration in hand, instead of allowing it to devolve upon a small community like ours. However, the people of this old town and vicinity have undertaken the celebration, and, with the aid of the small appropriation made by our legislature, will endeavor to make it a success. What we desire and need is the hearty coöperation and aid of the people of Ohio."

It is hoped the people of Ohio will do all that lies in their power to make the event a grand success. Senators Evarts and Daniels will be present and deliver orations, while General Sheridan is also looked for.

At the April meeting of the Chicago Historical society an unique and suggestive donation was received, in the shape of a lottery ticket, issued in Boston, April, 1767, for the rebuilding of Faneuil Hall, and bearing the signature of John Hancock. Some methods of raising money were resorted to by the Revolutionary fathers that would not be tolerated to-day.

BRIEF mention was made last month of the death of Israel Ward Andrews, ex-president of Marietta college, who departed this life at Hartford, Connecticut, on April 18. He had gone, early in March, to Boston to deliver an address before the New England Historical and Genealogical society on "The First Settlement of the Northwest Territory," and on his way home was taken dangerously ill with an attack of pleuro-pneumonia at the home of his brother in Hartford. From a fair and appreciative obituary, published in the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, are condensed the following main features of his life:

DR. ANDREWS was a native of Danbury, Connecticut, born January 3, 1815, and was one of five brothers who have become distinguished among men of learning. He graduated at Williams college in 1837, in the first class graduated under President Mark Hopkins. Among the members of his class were Justice Stephen J. Field of the United States supreme court; Governor Bullock of Massachusetts, and President Hitchcock of Union Theological seminary. In 1838 he was invited to Marietta college as an instructor in mathematics, and in 1839 was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the same college. Upon the retirement of President Smith in 1855, to accept the presidency of Lane seminary, Professor Andrews was elected to succeed him. He continued to fill the position until 1885, when increasing years led him to resign a position of so much labor and responsibility, and was succeeded by General John Eaton. Since he retired from the presidency Dr. Andrews has filled the chair

of Putnam professor of political philosophy, so that his service in Marietta college covered a period of half a century, and embraced every class that has graduated from that institution.

As a writer and preacher Dr. Andrews had few if any superiors in force and clearness. He seldom delivered a sermon, owing to the demands upon his time as a college president; but anyone who has heard him in the pulpit or in one of his baccalaureate sermons would pronounce him one of the ablest preachers of the day. He was a forcible writer on all subjects, and was a frequent contributor to the current newspaper and magazine literature. Much of his time, particularly of late years, has been spent in delivering addresses before the leading educational and scientific societies in the east and west. He was one of the editors of the Ohio Archaeological Quarterly, and there was no better authority on the settlement of the Northwest territory and the history of Ohio than Dr. Andrews. His principal contribution to book literature was his 'Manual on the Constitution of the United States,' a work that has become and is standard authority as a textbook in the leading colleges of the country and among all students of our Constitution. One of the last acts of the lamented Chief-Justice Waite was to write a most complimentary letter in praise of this admirable book. Dr. Andrews took a deep interest in all matters relating to western history, as his work at times in this magazine will show.

In the sketch of Theodotus Burwell, founder of the Buffalo *Courier*, published in the May issue, a misleading statement is made on page 88, where the son of Mr. Burwell is spoken of as "the organizer and manager of the clearing-house in that beautiful and flourishing city"—New York seemingly referred to, when Minneapolis, Minnesota, was, in fact, intended. General Viele was also erroneously referred to on the same page as General Biele. These errors are regretted, but such will happen, despite the greatest care.

THE Free Historical course of lectures that has been conducted during the past winter in Madison, Wisconsin, under direction of the Cotemporary club, closed on the evening of May 7 with a lecture by Professor Allen, on the "Position of the Northwest in General History"—a subject of peculiar interest at this time when the centennials of that great northwest are being celebrated. It will be impossible to follow the extended review of the address, but room may be found for the following summary with which Professor Allen closed:

First, the title to the northwest belonged in succession to the three great nations, Spain, France and England, which, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, possessed the acknowledged leadership among the European states.

Second, the leadership acquired by England in the eighteenth century was integrally associated with the building up of the British empire; and the decisive fact in the formation of this empire was the acquisition from France of that enormous tract of territory of which the northwest is the centre—the keystone, as we may call it, of the arch.

Third, the imperial destiny of the United States hung upon the possession of this northwest. But for the military successes of Clark and the diplomatic skill of our commissioners in negotiating the treaty of peace, in securing just this territory, our domain would have been contracted, our National aspirations would have had no scope, and it is not likely that there would have been courage to make the purchase of Louisiana and the subsequent acquisitions.

Fourth, the development of our National policy was closely connected with, and, in fact, first took shape in, the ordinance which organized this territory. Our territorial system, our policy of creating new states, our National guaranty of personal freedom, universal education and religious liberty found their first expression in the great act which provided for the government of the northwest.

IN reference to the letter of P. M. Wetmore, on page ninety-two of the May number of this

magazine, a reader suggests that the original letter of Commodore Perry to the honorable secretary of the navy is now on file in the navy department at Washington. He adds that unless he is mistaken the famous letter, "We have met the enemy and they are ours," was written to General Harrison, who was at Sandusky or in the neighborhood. In an official capacity Commodore Perry would not have occasion to write to the secretary of war (John Armstrong), but if he did, he would hardly begin it with "Dear General." Of the original letter, tradition says it was written upon a slip of paper, the stiff top of the commodore's cap serving as writing-desk.

THE latest addition to the collection of antiquities, curios, old manuscripts, etc., in possession of General Charles W. Darling of Utica, New York, is a rare and perfect copy of the Koburger Bible, printed in folio by Anthony Koburger of Nuremberg, 1483. He printed thirteen editions of the Bible in folio, which are esteemed as extremely beautiful specimens of the art; but his *chef-d'œuvre* was the German Bible printed in folio, 1483. This is considered the most splendid of all the ancient German Bibles, being embellished with a large number of very curious wood-cuts. In these wood-cuts Moses appears with horns. Jerome, in translating from the Hebrew, made the Latin Vulgate say of Moses, as he came down from the mount, that his head was horned, when he should have translated it: "His head radiated with light." Michael Angelo, when he looked for a description of Moses, found him described as having horns. That is the reason why, in his works of art, he put horns on the head of the great law-giver of Israel. Thus it is that one wrong translation may mystify and mislead for ages, interpreters as well as artists. The title page of the Bible above referred to reads thus: "Published by Anthoye Koburgter at the noble imperial capital Nuremberg, after the birth of Christ and in the Law of Grace, the Fourteen hundred three and eightieth year, on the Monday after Innocents."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

PUTNAM'S OPEN LETTER TO HAMPTON.

In the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for June, 1886, Honorable W. P. Cutler communicates a letter, written in February, 1813, by General William Hull to General Rufus Putnam, asking a statement respecting General Hull's military conduct and character for courage during the Revolution, to be presented to the court-martial, of which General Wade Hampton was president, convened to try General Hull for treason and cowardice. General Putnam's reply, enclosing a letter to General Hampton, is also given.

Mr. Cutler says: "Perhaps Putnam's open letter to General Hampton could be brought to light."

Here it is.

E. C. DAWES.

Cincinnati, May, 1888.

MARIETTA, March 2, 1813.

SIR: Permit me, at the request of Brigadier-General Hull, to state to you what I know respecting his military character during the Revolutionary war.

My first acquaintance with General Hull was in the year 1776; he was then a captain in Colonel Webb's regiment, Connecticut. This regiment was with other troops under the command of General McDougal, engaged in a severe action with a large part of the British army, near White Plains, state of New York, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1776. At the request of General McDougal I posted myself in a situation that enabled me to observe the conduct of the troops in general during the action, and I can testify that Colonel Webb's regiment behaved well; further, I saw Captain Hull immediately after the action was over, in company with Colonel Webb and Major Brooks, and from the conversation that passed, I had every reason to believe Captain Hull had behaved much to their satisfaction and his own credit as a brave officer. Again, in 1777, General Hull was a major in the Massachusetts line in Colonel M. Jackson's regiment; this regiment was in the long and bloody action fought by the left wing of the American army against a part of Burgoyne's army, on the nineteenth of Septem-

ber, 1777. I can say no more than that the troops engaged that afternoon did great honor to themselves, and that I presume Major Hull was with his regiment. On the seventh of October following I was eye witness to the good conduct of Jackson's regiment, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, in storming the German breastwork. The order for storming was given by General Arnold, and as I advanced across an open ground to storm in front (with two regiments from the right wing of the army) Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, with Jackson's regiment, advanced to attack the enemy on their left flank and at the same time Major Morgan (the late General Morgan of Virginia), with the light troops, advanced to attack him on his right flank, and all these corps entered the enemies works at the same instant; I well remember to have met with Colonel Brooks soon after we were in possession of the enemies works—at the head of the column he led in. I presume Major Hull was at his post, but I think it is not probable I saw him, because I moved forward immediately with two regiments under my command and took post in the next British redoubt, while Colonel Brooks remained in the works we had taken. Some time after General Burgoyne's surrender Colonel M. Jackson's regiment, together with other Massachusetts troops, were ordered to the southward, while I remained at Albany, and I recollect nothing more respecting Major Hull until July, 1779, when, on the fifteenth day of that month, he was with General Wayne in storming Stony Point on the North river, and with other officers named in General Wayne's orders received his thanks for his good conduct in that attack. Soon after this affair a corps of light infantry was organized and placed under the command of General Wayne. I was honored with the command of a regiment in this corps and Major Wm. Hull served with me to the close of the campaign, much to my satisfaction. Thus, sir, I have stated a number of instances during the Revolutionary war, which came within my knowledge, in which Brigadier-General Hull's character as a soldier must have been fairly tried, but I never knew or heard of his courage being doubted; on the contrary, his character was that of an active, brave

officer. The time is long since these events took place, and doubtless many circumstances are not now recollected, but so far as I have gone I *declare upon honor* the statement is just and true.

(Signed.) RUFUS PUTNAM.

To the Editor of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

"NEAL MCCOLLINS'" GHOST.

I have watched the discussion of Messrs. Butterfield and Graham in regard to the first white woman settler in the Northwest Territory with a good deal of interest. Without meaning to take any part in the controversy, I desire to relieve "the good denizens of Marietta" from any fright friend Butterfield may have caused them by the Neal McCollins ghost which he has conjured up. I assure "the good denizens of Marietta" that they have no cause for alarm—that this Neal McCollins was not a white man, but a Delaware Indian, whose name was commonly written Nemaquin; but like most Indian names, not always written the same way. In 1751 this honest and friendly Indian was employed by Colonel Cresap to lay out and mark a road over the Alleghany mountains from Will's creek to "the forks of the Ohio." This work was so well done that General Braddock with his army pursued it in 1755.

General Richard Butler was one of the commissioners appointed to hold treaties with the northern and western Indians, and in performance of that duty he attended at Fort Stanwix, and subsequently he attended at Fort McIntosh, and in September he left his home in Carlisle to hold a treaty at the Miami. He kept journals during his journeys, etc., and these were published in Craig's 'Olden Time,' Vol. II. From page 442 I take the following extract, beginning with his departure from Marietta: "Sunday, October 9 [1785]. Sailed at six o'clock, the weather very fine, wind in favor. The climate here is mild and pleasant. I am of opinion this will be found the proper month for seeding the fall grain. Passed Nimach Collins'* island and two other small islands, then the mouth of Little Hocking, at half-past eight o'clock, A. M."

I cannot understand how such a well-read and wide-awake person as friend Butterfield could have been caught by such a misconception as Neal McCollins—but to err is human.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, Pennsylvania, May 10, 1888.

* "'Nimach Collins' island." We have spelt this name as we found it; but we suspect that it should be Nemaquin, after the Indian who laid out the first road from Cumberland, as mentioned in a previous number of this work.—ED. O. T."

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'THE OLD NORTHWEST, WITH A VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AS CONSTITUTED BY ROYAL CHARTERS.' By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D., Professor of the Science and Art of Teaching, University of Michigan, Author of 'Schools and Studies,' and Editor of the Works of James Abram Garfield. Published by Townsend MacCoun, New York. Received of the Burrows Brothers Company.

The reputation of Professor Hinsdale as a writer of history and a student of close and extended research affords an introduction to anything that he may write that one less known might not be able to command. Of our own knowledge, he has been for years engaged in the collection of material for this work, and he had made himself master of the field in which its subject lies before he commenced its preparation—in fact, his labors in northwestern history suggested the work, rather than the sometime method of choosing a theme and then investigating it. Whatever minor errors or discrepancies might be pointed out, the volume he has produced is one that only a man of great ability could have written, and that covers an epoch in our National history that is only coming to be understood and appreciated. Touching that point, the author has well said: "It (the old northwest) was the occasion of the final struggle for dominion between France and England in North America. It was the theatre of the most brilliant and far-reaching military exploits of the Revolution. The disposition to be made of it at the close of the Revolution is the most important territorial question treated in the history of American diplomacy. After the war, the northwest began to assume a constantly increasing importance in the National history."

Some idea of Professor Hinsdale's method of treatment may be gained from a glance at the leading features of his table of contents:

"North America in Outline," "The First Divisions of North America," "The French Discoverer in the Northwest," "The French Colonize the Northwest," "England Wrests the Northwest from France," "The First Treaty of Paris," "The Northwest in the Revolution," "The Northwestern Land Claims," "The Ordinance of 1787," "Slavery in the Northwest," etc., etc. This glance is only suggestive—the work is replete with well-arranged information, and the text is illustrated by eleven valuable maps. 'The Old Northwest' is a book that one cannot describe, much less epitomize; suffice it to say that the ground has been covered as never before; that the author has made his labor one of love as well as duty; that he was expected by all his many friends to produce a valuable and profound work, and that this expectation has not been disappointed. The steady progress of Mr. Hinsdale in the road of historical authorship is indeed gratifying; and one of the recompenses for the loss by this city of his presence is the fact that in his new field of labor he will find enlarged opportunity and time for further work of that kind.

'ORIGIN OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (CAMPELITES): A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER CAMPELL.' By William H. Whitsitt, D. D., LL. D., Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Published by A. G. Armstrong & Son, New York. Received from the Burrows Brothers Company.

The preparation of a book upon the origin of the Disciple church by a recognized teacher in the Baptist denomination, suggests food for thought, and suggests probable grounds for controversy—in case of which, no one need be afraid but that the author of the work will ably hold his own. Starting forth with the declaration that the Disciple church is an offshoot of

the Sandemanian sect of Scotland, he follows that idea through to the end, carefully preparing his ground, and keeping very close to his proof. A glance at the table of contents gives us some idea, in a condensed shape, of the line along which he labors: "The Sandemanians," "The Ancient Order of Things," "The Ancient Gospel," "The Ancient Gospel Improved," "The Haldaneans," "Mr. Campbell's Perversion to Sandemanianism (first stage)," "Mr. Campbell's Earliest Success as a Propagandist," "Mr. Campbell's Perversion to Sandemanianism" (second stage), "Baptism for the Remission of Sins," "Other Items." The work throws a great deal of light upon its theme, viewed from one standpoint, but whether all his conclusions will be accepted by those of the church most interested, remains yet to be seen.

'DISSOLVING VIEWS IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM.' By Rabbi Solomon Schindler of the Temple Adath Israel, in Boston. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received from Van Epps & Co.

This interesting and instructive work comprises a series of popular and profound lectures delivered at the Temple Adath Israel, the past season. The lectures are very learned, and are an application of the law of evolution to the history of Judaism. In each lecture is pictured some prominent person of Jewish history, and such character is made to stand forth from the background of his contemporary age, and to permit the whole picture to melt away slowly, and to change into the forms of a new person and a new age, thus showing the evolutionary progress of religious thought from age to age, the differences between two or more historical periods and the remarkable changes which have taken place in Judaism in a continuous order to this day. The mere mention of Rabbi Schindler's themes gives an ample idea of the great historic value of his scholarly researches: "Moses and His Time," "Ezra and His Time," "Simon, The Last of the Maccabees," "Rabbi Jochanan Ben Saccai and His Time," "The Talmud," "Anan Ben David and His Time," "Saadia and His Time," "Abulhassan

Jehuda Halevi and His Time," "Moses Maimonides," "Joseph Albo and His Time," "Don Isaac Abrabanel and His Time," "Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn," "Joseph, Prince of Naxos, and His Time," etc., etc. The addresses have been prepared with great care, and each epoch and each personage is ushered before the reader with skill, in language easily grasped and understood, yet forceful in import and graceful in expression. The student of the history of mankind of every creed will find in this volume the presentation of facts from the Jewish standpoint, which will command his earnest attention and meditation.

'BRITONS AND MUSCOVITES, OR TRAITS OF TWO EMPIRES.' By Curtis Guild, editor of the Boston *Commercial Bulletin*, and author of 'Over the Ocean' and 'Abroad Again.' Published by Lee & Shepard. Received from the Burrows Brothers Company.

Mr. Guild is not only a skillful writer but a close observer and a student of human nature, and as he treats the people of these great empires of eastern and western Europe in a new form, he has made a most entertaining and valuable book. The reader is first taken to numerous neglected spots in England; some space is given to the consideration of English hotel management "from the fact that it seemed to be a leading topic with all American tourists," and other themes suggested by life and travel in England pleasantly discussed. A sketch is given of the author's journey to Russia, followed by observations upon the cities visited and the people met in that far-away land. As eastern Europe is the centre of such deep American thought at the present time, and as Mr. Guild can look below the surface, his book will be timely and welcome in more respects than one.

'HISTORY OF COÖPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES,' Vol. VI, in the 'Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.' Herbert B. Adams, editor.

The title of this fine book of from five to six hundred pages, and the fact that it is one of the series of historical studies this great insti-

tution is sending forth, is probably sufficient commendation of its scope and character without any multiplication of words. A glance at its table of contents will but strengthen the good impression the above facts will make. Coöperation in New England is treated by Edward Bemis; in the middle states by the same; in the northwest by Albert Shaw; on the Pacific coast by Charles Howard Shinn; in Maryland and the south by Daniel R. Randall, while "Three Phases of Coöperation in the West" is treated by Amos G. Warner. The work is ably and carefully edited, and has been written by men competent in all respects to handle the themes of which they treat. It is full of information gathered from many sources and excellently arranged.

'REPORT AND COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN FOR THE YEARS 1883, 1884 and 1885;' Vol. X, with a General Index to Vols. I-X.

The value of the documents so carefully collected, edited and revised for this series of historical works, is great in the present, and will grow greater with each passing year. The Wisconsin Historical society is one of the marvels of the west, and the good judgment and historical learning of those who have it in charge is nowhere more abundantly shown than in the publications it from time to time issues. No. X is one of the best of the volumes yet issued.

'NOBLE DEEDS OF OUR FATHERS; AS TOLD BY SOLDIERS GATHERED AROUND THE OLD BELL OF INDEPENDENCE.' Revised and adapted from Henry C. Watson. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received from Van Epps & Co.

The purpose of this little book is to awaken in the minds of young people a veneration of

the patriots and heroes of the American Revolution, who achieved the independence of our Republic, and to cultivate that spirit of patriotism so needful to ensure the permanence of the form of government under which we live. The young reader—indeed, older readers will like the stories—will be interested in the story of Lafayette's return to this country, of reminiscences of Washington, of the night before the battle of Brandywine, of the first prayer in Congress, of the patriotic women of that day, stories of adventure regarding General Wayne, the massacre of Wyoming and in other narratives equally interesting and important. Such a book at this time ought to, and will receive a cordial reception, because of its worth and the principles which it seeks to inculcate.

Pamphlets and minor publications received:

'LOST IN A GREAT CITY' (A Novel). By Amanda M. Douglass. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. Received from Van Epps & Co.

'THE GENIUS OF ANGLO-SAXON LAW AND HISTORY, COMPARED WITH THE CIVILIZATION OF LATIN IMPERIALISM.' An address before the Oneida Historical society, by the editor of the *Church Electric*.

'ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE: THE MOUND-BUILDERS WERE INDIANS.' By G. P. Thurston. A paper read before the Tennessee Historical society, at Nashville, on December 19, 1887. Published by order of the society.

'THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE,' Vol. I, No. I. Published for the American Folk-Lore society, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, April and June, 1888. A valuable and carefully prepared magazine devoted to a field of research heretofore too much neglected.



Isaac Avery of Western History

Yours Truly
Isaac Avery